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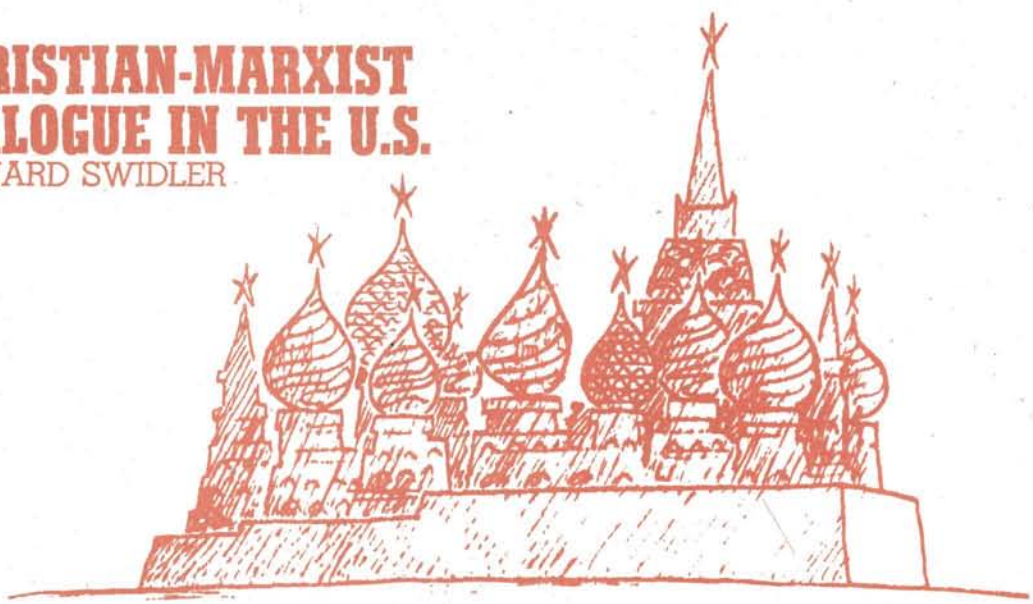
# commonweal

## THE VATICAN'S OSTPOLITIK
TOM HENEGHAN

## AMERICA'S OSTPOLITIK
R. NEAL TANNAHILL

## CHRISTIAN-MARXIST DIALOGUE IN THE U.S.
LEONARD SWIDLER



**FRANK GETLEIN** APPOINTMENTS CALENDAR
**THOMAS POWERS** WINNERS, LOSERS, DREAMERS
**PETER STEINFELS** A MATTER PREORDAINED
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**PHILIP SCHARPER** JOHN COUR

**RELIGIOUS BOOK WEEK:** CRIT[illegible] 12-77
MICHAEL J. BANDLER, FRAN[illegible]
G. HIGGINS, RALPH McINERNY, MARTIN E. MARTY,
LOIS SPEAR AND MICHAEL ZEIK

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# NEWS & VIEWS

### Erin Go Bragh

John England, pseudonym of a British army officer serving in Ulster, gives away a small British secret in an article in *The Irish Press* of Dublin.

"At this very moment," he wrote recently, "there are British regiments in training in England and in Western Germany: exercising in elaborate 'mock-ups' of Irish ghettoes, complete with custom-built homes, pubs and shops."

Then the part that rankles: "A local population culled from the ranks of the unit being tested is assumed to be totally hostile, and is instructed to behave accordingly. Even the feminine touch is not forgotten. Girls from the Women's Royal Army Corps are specially imported to hurl abuse at the soldiers, presumably to condition them for life in the raw, Creggan or Turf Lodge fashion."

There's no doubt, says England, that from a military standpoint the training is effective. However, he adds, it "takes little account of the finer points of dealing with the bulk of a terrified population who actually have to live in the ghettoes—for real."

Meanwhile, Bishop Cahal Daly of Ardagh and Clonmacnois has accused Britain of lacking the will to resolve the problems in Northern Ireland.

He described the current political vacuum in the North as "unpardonable and disastrous," and went on to say that it was nonsense for Britain to look to Northern Ireland politicians for a solution to the problems which Westminster itself has tacitly ignored for the past 50 years.

The bishop compared London's continuing use of the British army with the mindless militarism of the IRA.

Like the rest of the populace, however, Bishop Daly seemingly has no magic formula, no realistic plan for ending the violence in Northern Ireland.

* * *

"News & Views" for 11/19/76 carried an item about British Government use of torture techniques on detainees in Northern Ireland. On Feb. 8, Britain conceded the charges, and gave a solemn pledge to the European Court of Human Rights that it would cease and desist.

### Justice and the World

After five weeks among the destitute of Calcutta, a delegation from Taizé, the ecumenical monastic community in France, returned to Paris with a "Letter to the People of God" which was read in Notre Dame Cathedral.

It urged correction of "the present crisis of confidence in man" through a program that would establish the human family as "a parable of sharing."

Specifically, the Letter asked:

— *an end to consumerism* ("the amassing of goods is the beginning of injustice");

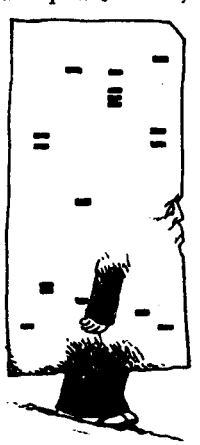
— *a change in living standards* (". . . give up everything that is not absolutely indispensable, beginning with expenditures");

— *an equalization of wages and working conditions* (". . . when the quest of a high salary is the purpose of your work, you are very near exploiting others or being yourself exploited").

The grand objective of such a program, said the Letter, must be the eradication of that international injustice which makes primary "the satisfying of the needs of westernized man."

In this the Church's role is seen as paramount. "If the Church gives up everything which is not absolutely essential for it, if it applies itself only to being a servant of communion and sharing for humanity," the Letter concluded, "then it will participate in curing the wounds of the human family."

The full text of the document appears in the *Lettre de Taizé* for January, 1977. Address: 71 460 Taizé, France.



City on a Hill/LNS

### Latin Freedoms

Which are the freest of Latin American nations?

According to a survey of U.S. experts appearing in *Latin American Research Review*, the four freest are Costa Rica, Venezuela, Colombia and Mexico.

The survey was inaugurated 30 years ago, and is conducted at five-year intervals. The latest was done by Prof. Kenneth F. Johnson of the University of Missouri.

Johnson admitted that a survey of Latin America through the eyes of U.S. experts has its limitations. However, he said, "I do not claim to be measuring 'democracy as such' but to be measuring and reflecting the changing scholarly image of political democracy in Latin America across the years."

The survey's criteria are freedom of information, free elections, freedom of political organization, independence of the judiciary, and the degree of civilian autonomy.

At the bottom of the freedom list of 20 countries are —in descending order— Cuba, Bolivia, Brazil, Nicaragua, Chile, Paraguay and, at rock bottom, Haiti.

### Fact & Fancy

The Catholic Church through rose-colored glasses, or how the *Catholic Almanac* sees the on-going campaign for optional vis-à-vis mandatory clerical celibacy. . . .

From the 1973 *Catholic Almanac:*

"In recent years, considerable agitation has developed in favor of optional rather than mandatory celibacy for priests."

From the 1977 *Catholic Almanac:*

"Recent agitation for optional rather than mandatory celibacy for priests has diminished, without change in church law."

### Odds and Ends

—Father Hans Küng, a liberal? Not by his definition. At a London press conference, he placed himself ideologically "in the middle, between the Theology of the Establishment on the right and the Theology of Revolution on the left."

—Still a master with the wit that cuts, Archbishop Fulton J. Sheen. Introduced by Nellie J. Gray, "March for Life" president, at a Washington speaking engagement, Sheen began: "Miss Gray, reverend Fathers . . .," then turning to a nun in habit in the front row . . . "recognizable Sister."

—Not even the Bible is to escape the metric system. Australia leads the way. A new edition of the Bible there converts Noah's Ark from 300 cubits to 133 meters, and Goliath from "six cubits and a span" to "nearly three meters." And discount the counsel in Matthew 5:41 about going two miles with him who would compel you to go one. Mile becomes kilometer, so the journey is about halved. . . . Ah, we're getting soft.

JOHN DEEDY



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# CORRESPONDENCE

### Taxing Taxes

Gstaad, Switzerland

*To the Editors:* Your editorial on the trickle-down of tax reduction [Jan. 7] is the best I've read for a year—although some bias could be present. My thanks as well as my congratulations. JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

### Affairs of State

Highland Creek, Canada

*To the Editors:* Re Frank Getlein's "Could Conservatives Conserve?" [Dec. 17]: Fear of a standing army was at least at one time part of the tradition of the English-speaking peoples. What is not clear is to what extent if any this fear was a distinguishing feature of this tradition's conservative aspect. Much the same would appear to be true with respect to fear of an intrusive central govt. except that this fear is currently livelier than the preceding one. (Most sensible members of this tradition would I think always have granted the state the right to be curious about the affairs of potential troublemakers even before they had any chance to make trouble and recognize that there would seem to be no alternative to allowing the state wide discretion in deciding whom to be curious about. I suspect in practice it depends on which group is being snooped on whether libs or conservatives are unhappy.)

It is a bit much to argue that the Republican party destroyed Teddy Roosevelt. The reverse would seem a more reasonable reading of the data. GEORGE HENDRY

Lawrenceville, N.J.

*To the Editors:* The emptiness and insanity of John Connally of Texas to suggest that televising executions is a deterrent to crime, was humorously brought to my attention by Frank Getlein's Washington Report entitled "Speculative Spectaculars" [7 Jan.]

*(Continued on page 159)*

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## THE YORKVILLE REPORT

New York may not be America. And New York's East Side, an old, very mixed and fairly affluent neighborhood known as Yorkville, may not be typical New York. But a sociological study just published by the Archdiocese of New York Office of Pastoral Research on the religious attitudes and practices of Yorkville's Catholic and ex-Catholic population both answers and raises some questions that have implications for the whole American church.

Rev. Philip J. Murnion and Mrs. Ruth T. Doyle, authors of the study, "Catholic Life in Yorkville," have concluded that a high percentage of the area's residents have fallen away from the Church in rapidly increasing numbers not so much because of disappointment with the Church's moral teaching, such as *Humanae Vitae,* or the changes in Catholic life and ritual brought on by Vatican II, but because of a much deeper and ultimately more disturbing phenomenon: loss of belief in the mysteries of the faith. As one disaffected subject replied on the questionnaire: "The fact of God's existence, and whether Christ is God's son, is really not relevant to my daily life, and how I live it. Nor would I live it any differently if I felt differently about these beliefs."

First some background on Yorkville and the origins of the study. Long known as the city's principal in-town concentration of the rich, as well as the home of the German, Czech, and Hungarian middle-class, the upper East Side, from 59th to 96th Streets, has rapidly become the place which, as one historian wrote, ambitious college graduates, first moving to New York, use as "their habitat and mating ground before moving to children-oriented suburbs." It is the neighborhood of diminishing old brownstones, museums, multiplying impersonal high-rise apartment houses, Blooming-



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dale's Department Store, chic first-run movie houses where the "beautiful people" form long lines around the corners on weekend nights, "swinging" singles bars and restaurants. It is also a neighborhood with 14 Roman Catholic parishes staffed by 70 priests (many no longer young), with an estimated 54,234 Catholics (3.2 percent of all the Catholics in the Archdiocese) —about a third of whom practice their religion, compared to the national average, reported in the 1975 Gallup poll, of 54 percent. They are, in general, professional people, more affluent, better educated, younger, less tied to families than the general population. Yet, if they are not "typical" they do represent, because of their needs, talents, influence and potential, a group for which the Church should have a special concern.

The initiative for the survey came from the lay area council, with the support of the area's priests' conference. The questionnaire, prepared by the OPR, focused on the central issues of Church life: participation in the Eucharist, faith, individual and social morality, and the life of the parish. The office mailed forms to 2,222 names drawn from a telephone directory and distributed 1,260 through the parishes (plus all the area priests) to gather 266 usable responses for the basis of the study.

Some principal findings: the main characteristic that distinguishes non-attenders from attenders was that less than half the disaffected group believed in hell, or baptism as spiritual rebirth. Only a few more of the disaffected believed in Jesus as the divine son of God, the resurrection of Jesus or the sacraments as occasions for union with God. Only 52 percent of the churchgoers considered premarital sex wrong, while 63 percent judged abortion always immoral. Meanwhile, there was a great deal of confusion on just what the Church actually does teach on basic questions.

Clearly, the Church must find radically new ways of ministering to this bright young crowd who shuttle between their ad agency offices and the 35th floor of their apartment buildings, with refueling stops at P. J. Clarke's Saloon. Some suggestions from us: priests and religious leave the rectories and live and worship in apartments; evangelize through theater and the arts; publish a sophisticated community newspaper that deals with religious issues; follow up with another survey that probes more deeply into the nuances of belief in various doctrines; remove poor preachers from the pulpits; use the laity more in evangelization.

The study demonstrated that although the great majority of the laity are disaffected, many still long for what religious conviction offers. The parishioners were genuinely glad to be surveyed and hoped the results would get the Church to face its problems. They longed for what religious sociologist Peter Berger calls a "plausibility system," a system of thought and action that provides meaning, purpose and a set of relationships to life. One respondent wrote: "I wish I believed in God, because I think that throughout the centuries the people with the more profound sense of reality believed in him." And another: "Perhaps my ideas would change again if there was someone I could talk to, in depth, rather than in passing. Most priests I know would rather not get into any deep discussion about Faith. Maybe it is my misfortune knowing only those who seem not totally committed."

Which leads us to a final point. There are many reasons for the loss of faith; and it would be unfair to put too much blame on the parish priests, since so many of them are dedicated, hard-working and holy men. Still, there is an interesting pattern in the priests' responses to the questionnaire. Of the 70 who received the questionnaire, only 39 took the trouble to fill it out. True, all kinds of papers come across a busy priest's desk. But the importance of the survey to the religious future of the area was clear; surely the other 31 could have cooperated more fully. Those who did respond took a fairly consistent orthodox position on most dogmatic and moral questions. But, expressing their feelings on the community life of the Church, they were in some instances even more critical than the laity: 62 percent of the priests found parish liturgies uninspiring; 62 percent (contrasted to 51 percent of the laity) experienced a lack of leadership on faith and belief; 72 percent said there was a lack of parish community and 51 percent (vs. 45 percent of the laity) felt the clergy were unaware of people's problems.

Perhaps these figures represent the more conscientious priests reacting against the ineffectualness of their priest-colleagues. And perhaps too these same priests are acknowledging their own frustration in trying to cope with a complex situation that seems, within the traditional parish set-up, beyond their control. Maybe they know the usual sermons on pornography, abortion, money and domestic virtues are terrible. Maybe they too are dying to hear the scripture clearly and intelligently explained in a way that applies to daily social and personal problems. Maybe they have stood in the back of the church during Sunday mass and seen one another bore the dwindling congregations by their mechanical gestures, lack of attention to the meaning of the ritual, with a dragged-out, bloodless liturgical routine. How many priests would attend mass every Sunday in parish churches if they weren't saying the masses themselves? At any rate, the survey highlights a crisis in public confidence and self-confidence in the clergy. It implies that the priests themselves must show some serious soul-searching about their own understanding of the faith, their prayer lives, and the theological and cultural changes that have, in the last 20 years, so radically altered our society and the way we both think about God and relate to one another.



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# APPOINTMENTS CALENDAR

President Carter made a serious mistake in his original appointment of Theodore Sorensen to head the CIA in an era when that agency simply has to be stopped from burglarizing, eavesdropping upon and, from time to time as occasion may suggest, killing American citizens, an era, too, when the agency's historic policy of conducting international relations through assassination and the deliberate wrecking of the economy of foreign nations must be reexamined.

The mistake was not, as is generally thought around here, in nominating Sorensen without clearing it with the Senate's hawk establishment, nor, as is universally accepted, in backing off too quickly, failing to go all out for Sorensen. No, the mistake was in the appointment itself. Sorensen's pinnacle of public service was as speech writer to John F. Kennedy, a role for which he displayed considerable talent, emerging as a kind of William Safire with class. The talents of the speech writer are not those principally needed to run the CIA even in times when we were all more innocent about that gang than we are now. Actually, of the old guard, the best available man for that spot would have been James Schlesinger, who, briefly in the job, started the investigation of illegal activities at home and abroad that led to Dan Schorr's forced retirement but not yet, so far as we know, to any real reform. Sorensen's best known effort was, of course, the famed inaugural address of Kennedy, which, if you think about it, can be read as an open season hunting license for the CIA, as also for the FBI in its own assorted assaults on the Constitution and the citizenry. We will bear any burden: Richard Helms, Howard Hunt, J. Edgar Hoover as public "servants" compose a formidable burden; we will travel any distance: to Vietnam and Cambodia, to the Bay of Pigs, to Santiago, Chile, where it's raining and Dr. Allende is ingeniously committing suicide by dive bomber. Those are burdens and distances we don't really need the new head of the CIA to shoulder and to shuffle yet again.

As things have worked out, and by pure inadvertence on the part of the Senate's hawk aviary, Carter will end up with an incalculably more competent man out at Langley, his Annapolis classmate but not really old school chum, Admiral Stansfield Turner. Turner will bring a lot more to the job than administrative competence, more even than the administrative brilliance with which he is freely credited by almost everyone who has seen him at work. As it happens, I've seen him at work myself, found myself working with him, or for him, and emerged from the experience in frank admiration of the openness of the mind to unusual suggestions, the willingness to entertain unorthodox assumptions and the energy and style brought to bear upon activities generated from some assumptions.

I first heard of, and from, Stansfield Turner, five years ago. He was president of the Naval War College at Newport and wanted me to come up to take part in something called a Military-Media Conference. I had no clear idea of what such a thing might be. Neither did anyone else. Admiral Turner was inventing it. The form was simple, long familiar to those who attend seminars, conferences and conventions: two or three days beginning with plenary sessions and formal addresses, going on to small groups of students talking with the visiting "experts," usually one or two of us to twelve to twenty of them, ending formally with a dinner featuring remarks in a lighter tone, and informally in prolonged sessions in the bars of Newport and Jamestown, the Flag Cabins of the base and the president's house.

In form, nothing especially remarkable. But in content: in 1972, when Turner started what has become a high growth industry in all the military services, the war in Indochina was still raging away in what then seemed its eternal course, military people at large, but especially those with Vietnam service, were absolutely convinced that they—and their country—had been betrayed by the American press, reporters and news analysts, on the other hand, were no less convinced that the war was insane, criminal even, at best an effort to destroy Indochina in order to save it, at worst a dark scheme to extend or protect the holdings of ITT, Chase Manhattan and the oil cartel by the endless slaughter of American youths and the general population of the region. A service war college is not a service academy; its students are field-grade officers in mid-career, who have been carefully selected by the system as likely candidates for the higher reaches of command in the future: they're an elite, intelligent, dedicated, narrow, as is the way with most elites. The journalists were no less selected—by Stansfield Turner. There were, to be sure, a few journalists that journalists like me regard as unpaid—as far as is known—flacks for the arms industry, military affairs columnists holding reserve commissions, people who wear neckties with the American flag tastefully incorporated in the design, that sort of thing. But they were a tiny minority. By and large, the journalists present were the real thing and deeply opposed to the war on the obvious intellectual, moral and historical grounds, or on the ground of having been on the ground, or both. In short, the first Military-Media Conference had all the elements for a riot, a slaughter, a few muggings, a few bodies found floating in Narragansett Bay.



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That didn't happen. What did happen was that two hostile segments of the population were thrown together, kicked, scratched and bit each other for a while but did come to realize each that the other was going to be around for a while, each that the other did contribute something to the Republic, each that the other employed methods which, while different, were not necessarily treasonous on that account. I regarded that as an extraordinary accomplishment in 1972, but the genius of it lay in Stansfield Turner's ability to get beyond his profession's conventional view of the press as the enemy and bring in that enemy to allow his students to learn what it was and how it worked. If Turner brings that same kind of openness to reevaluation to the CIA, it could be the most important thing to happen to the Agency since its inception and an event of great value to the country.

The other big appointments struggle has been over Paul Warnke as chief arms control negotiator. The heart of that matter seems to be the violent objection of the hawks on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee —and in the Senate at large—to having an arms control negotiator who believes in the possibility of arms control.

It's easy to understand why such an appointment should shock the hawks. Until now our arms control negotiations have resulted uniformly in one thing: more arms. The whole process has been rather like having Hinky-Dink Henna and Bath House John Coughlin take over the cause of government reform in Chicago and begin by appointing a crowd of the old hacks and heelers as a committee for reform, with salaries, staff, limos and expenses. An arms control man who thinks arms control is possible? Horrors!

Warnke's gravest sin apparently was his expressed opinion in the past that possibly the Russians had gone into arms in a big way because they were afraid of the way we were going into arms, namely big. That's heresy. Orthodoxy is that we are forced to go into arms in a big way because the Russians have gone into arms in a big way. Again, it is a theological question only partially subject to journalistic or historical elucidation. The point of the orthodox position is not to teach history but to justify ever-increasing arms budgets. The fear is that the slightest ray of common sense on the subject, such as that provided by Warnke's question, may cause the whole night-blooming world of military-industrial largesse to wither and die, at least to cut back on the profits and perquisites on which hawks in the Senate and elsewhere have become rich men and mean to become richer still.

At this writing, Warnke's ultimate approval seems a safe bet if not an absolute sure thing. If the hawks were a little smarter than they are, they would profit from the switch they forced from Sorensen to Turner and be glad with what they've got in Warnke rather than risk someone even more dedicated to arms control.

FRANK GETLEIN

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**FROM BRITAIN**

# PLANNING AND EDUCATION

Some weeks ago, prime minister James Callaghan began what he hoped would be a great national debate about education. He made his speech, symbolically but ironically, at Ruskin College, Oxford. Now Ruskin College is one of six institutions in Britain originally designed to cater for the casualties of the British educational system. That is to say, it was begun as a place where those who had not had the chance to benefit from higher education at the normal time of their lives (i.e., straight from school) could rescue themselves in later life, by attending courses as full-time students, with maintenance grants, which would enable them either to go on to University or to find other niches in society suited to their innate abilities—abilities which had not been truly exercised or utilized earlier.

In other words, Ruskin College is a monument to the failure of the 'mainstream' educational system to cope with the human problems of real people. Strictly speaking, I suppose, in an ideally planned world where 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his need' was the operative principle of the normal educational system, from infant school to university or college, places like Ruskin College would not be necessary. But the fact that they do exist, and cater to a need, simply goes to show how inadequate any national educational planning always is to the needs of real people. And, though Ruskin College and its sister institutions were begun at a time when the modern educational system, as part of the 'Welfare State,' had hardly emerged, it would be wrong to suppose that they became superfluous once the postwar Welfare State had been established. On the contrary, in the past thirty years they have expanded greatly.

So it was ironic that Mr. Callaghan should make his speech, about planning education in such a way as to ensure that the correct supply of students would go where they are most needed, at Ruskin College of all places. For he was speaking on the premises of an in-



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stitution that symbolized the failure of the planners of the past, and the probable failure of the planners of the future. But ironies multiply when one notices that he was also speaking at a moment when the government is preparing to close down another thirty or so colleges for the training of teachers. For many of these colleges have been enormously expanded in the last ten years in order to cope with the expected need for more teachers, not only to keep pace with the increasing population but also to make possible the reduction of class sizes in state schools. This has been an agreed aim of the education service for the past thirty years. Thus, the absurdities of the situation abound. For example, at the Hereford College of Education, the new library was recently being finished at the very time when the closure decision was being made. In other colleges up and down the country, similar stories can be told of brand-new buildings and special installations of equipment being put on the scrap heap. Why?

For two reasons, neither of which the planners of the sixties could, or did, take into account. The first is the economic crisis, which was foreseen by many a long time ago, but which was finally triggered off, I suppose, by the oil price rises of a year or two back. This has led, as everyone knows, to an overwhelming need to cut public expenditure and redirect it to productive industry. The second reason is the drastic drop in the birth rate in the early 1970s. To take just one example: the school in Birmingham at which my own wife has been teaching for the past eight years, now has only about two-thirds of the number of children starting at five which it had eight years ago. It was planned for a total roll of six hundred, but now has not many more than four hundred children. The same story can be repeated all over the country. I am not a demographer, and I would hesitate to say why people are today having far fewer babies, and having them later: but there can be little doubt that the pill and the legalization of abortion have had something to do with it. (It may be noted that Catholic schools are affected by the crisis just as much as others.) But the point is that, whatever the reasons, the planners have clearly made a big mistake; not because their sums were wrong but rather because they were unable to foresee the factors which have brought about the present crisis.

What lesson should we learn from all this mess? Various answers are, I think, easily dismissed. One is that it is all due to excessive 'government interference' and that the Tories would have managed things much better. The causes of the present crisis lie far back: and I see no reason to suppose that educational planning would be, or has been, any better under Conservative than under Labor governments. Indeed, to a large degree it is the Conservatives who are now demanding *more* educational planning, in order to ensure that people are directed towards what they conceive to be the national priority—namely, commerce and industry. Another answer is that the crisis is simply a sign of the imminent breakup of the capitalist system: but again, although that may be so, it is hard to see how this sort of problem would be solved (as distinct from being concealed) by 'state socialism,' supposing that to be the alternative. The lesson I would learn is rather that there is something inherently wrong, both in principle and in practice, in trying to harness *education* to the cart of 'national need,' as distinct from people's needs.

Just as social engineering through a reorganization of schools into 'comprehensives' has not produced the social egalitarianism claimed for it by some theorists (however right it may have been as an educational policy), so social engineering to solve our economic problems through manipulation of the education system will fail to produce the answer that is required. For a system that has already allowed itself to be open to that sort of manipulation (including, of course, the sort of manipulation implicit in the fraudulent Conservative advocacy of 'free choice' in education combined with 'free enterprise' in business) has ceased to be a properly educational system. Educators have become part of what Illich calls the 'professional conspiracy': and until they cease to be manipulators themselves, they will continue to be manipulated in their turn, and the manipulation will continue to be futile. BRIAN WICKER

(*Brian Wicker is* Commonweal*'s regular correspondent in Great Britain.*)

SR. ELLEN MURPHY

## *LINES FROM A PRIMITIVE*

Though I could not read words
I could read oak trees. I could
know from these the meaning of
roots and stability.

I could read the movement of squirrels
and birds though I could not read words
I could infer from wings and limbs
the time-hinged meaning of mobility.

I could read the light-drawn rising of
the vine and rose; the shades of meaning each stem
shows. And I could study what the small seeds mean
and learn directly all that grows from them.

Yet if I could not read
the knowledge words impart
how could I shake my belief
that the elm's death and the earth's quake
reveal the same life-shattering grief
the body feels at insults to the heart?



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# A MATTER PREORDAINED

PETER STEINFELS

AMIDST WARS and elections and energy crises and New York still teetering on the edge of bankruptcy and newspaper reports of three-year-olds being beaten to death by their mothers' boyfriends, I cannot say that the ordination of women has loomed very large in my mental landscape. It seemed a perfectly sensible, indeed an inevitable idea; and I wished its advocates well. But I was more apt to be worried about what we really mean when we affirm the Good News on Sunday than about the sex of the person officiating. In this I think I was joined by most of my friends, women and men.

Why then was I—were we—so offended by the Vatican's statement opposing the ordination of women? It has been a good while since most of us have staked very much on pronouncements from Rome, and we could not really say that the content of *this one* was a surprise. Had some inquiring social scientist asked us last December to speculate on opinions held concerning women priests in precincts such as the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, I suspect our replies would have captured the substance of the eventual document.

So why the hurt? Why did these few thousand words, despite the well-intentioned if condescending gesture toward female equality, sting like a gratuitous insult? It was not simply the quality of the argument, with its unexplicated theory of "natural resemblance," a theory that could as easily justify limiting the priesthood to circumcized Jews or the primacy to Galilean fishermen. It was not simply the brushing aside of the serious theological and scriptural studies that have dealt with women's ordination. The desperate flimsiness of the statement only exposed what lay behind it—the grim hope of cutting history off at the pass.

Where the claim of women to full recognition of their personhood will take us, we do not yet know; but the assertion of such a claim is undeniably an emergent fact of our world. The very magnitude of the shift in perspective underway ought to reduce drastically the constraints of traditional practices. Once our mentalities have been thoroughly alerted, as with slavery and anti-Semitism in modern times, the fact that the Church has cohabited with such phenomena in the past may be problematic and painful, but it no longer has guiding authority for our future. The Church, in other words, faces a moment of unusual freedom in regard to women —and as though suffering from vertigo, the Vatican has sent its lawyers scurrying to lash things down. No, there could be no possibility that the work of Paul was to be completed, or even that the Church might heed the patient words of Paul's teacher, Gamaliel: if this movement be of merely human origin, it will collapse of itself; if it is of God, you will be wrong to oppose it.

Millions of women who are not terribly interested in the priesthood, who are not even decided about the eventual direction of their own movement, have been told that Rome *knows*, that God has revealed to the bureaucrats in the Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith the precise limits of this unprecedented reordering of male and female roles. They have caught the note of fear in this preemptive strike, fear of themselves, fear of the future, and they—we—are quite rightly hurt and angered.

There is, I must add, something reassuringly familiar in that sense of hurt. The Vatican document reminded me, as I had not been reminded in a long time, of being a *Roman* Catholic. The dismay we felt was at least the negative sign of an attachment I had often feared was almost altogether dissolved.

That "Rome" was not alone in this maneuver, however, is a more dispiriting thought. At the end of October, the Detroit "Call to Action" asked the American bishops to "initiate dialogue with Rome . . . to allow women to be ordained." I have no way of knowing to what extent American bishops urged the Vatican statement (conspicuously pre-dated to the week before the "Call to Action") as a means of evading any response to the Detroit request, or of forestalling any serious discussion with fellow bishops. (One report has it that "the most forward resolution on women's ordination was proposed by a bishop" at Detroit.) It is a real, and saddening, possibility.

For of course the statement will do no good. There are probably more partisans of women's ordination today than there were before it was issued. John Kenneth Galbraith once announced the law that whenever a politician denies something three times, it is sure to be true. A similar rule appears to hold for the Vatican: whatever it officially condemns is sure to come about.

Within a decade women will be ordained, probably because some bishop takes matters into his own hands. There is always a price to be paid for such irregularities, but Rome seems determined to render them likely. Already I have heard individuals (male) who are extremely sensitive to the importance of consensus and procedural regularity speak as though a development on the pattern of the Episcopal experience were now the only plausible outcome.

Though the Sanhedrin accepted Gamaliel's advice, it had the apostles flogged anyway and forbade them to preach; the apostles were glad for the humiliation they had undergone and promptly returned to their preaching. I doubt whether the Sacred Congregation's verbal flogging will be any more effective.

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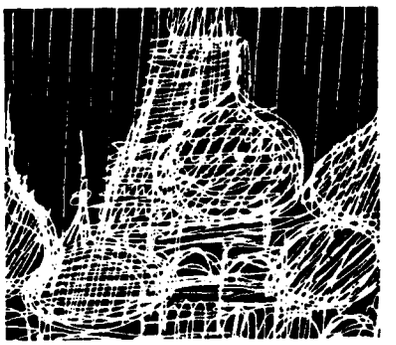
# THE VATICAN'S OSTPOLITIK

TOM HENEGHAN



## Rome's approach to East European Communism

To critics of the Vatican's diplomacy in Eastern Europe, Archbishop Agostino Casaroli is friendly but firm. "Do people really think," the Vatican's foreign minister once asked, "that I don't notice the bitter taste of the champagne we drink to conclude another compromise? Have they ever stopped to think what the Church's position would be in those countries if the Holy See had not done what it did?"

The champagne analogy is one of the many Casaroli uses to reply to his critics. As the Vatican's foreign minister for the past twelve years, the Archbishop has been instrumental in shifting the Church's relations with the Communist world from the hostility of the 1950s to the détente diplomacy of the 1970s. Because of his central role in the planning and execution of the Vatican's détente, Casaroli is often referred to as "Pope Paul's Kissinger." The comparison is not limited to the two men's frequent travels or summit style of diplomacy, however. Like Kissinger, Casaroli and his détente diplomacy have come in for increasing criticism within the past year or two. Disappointment with détente has been a growing political trend in many Western countries, and it is probably not surprising that even the special brand of reconciliation the Vatican pursues has not escaped the critics' scrutiny.

The new skepticism toward détente—both papal and presidential—has also illuminated some basic differences between Vatican and conventional diplomacy. For example, a superpower like the United States cannot avoid dealing with the other superpower, the Soviet Union, even if this means that certain issues, such as human rights, might be downplayed or ignored. The Vatican, though, represents not only a sovereign nation, but also a major religion, and is thus expected to reflect that religion's moral principles in its diplomatic activity. As the debate over morality in foreign policy in the United States has shown, this is not always easy. Also, the Vatican lacks many of the extradiplomatic methods other nations use to influence foreign governments. The Holy See is not in a position to grant trade concessions or distribute military aid. Internationally, the Vatican has a certain moral stature, but its negotiating palette holds little more than episcopal appointments, diocesan boundary changes and limited Church-State agreements. This narrows the Vatican's diplomatic options considerably, especially with countries which have different views about God, man and the state.

The resulting dilemma is most easily seen in the Vatican's relations with the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Should the Holy See "refuse to negotiate with atheists" and restrict itself to religious and moral exhortations to Catholics around the world? Should it do all in its power to aid Catholics in Communist countries but draw the line at cooperation with their governments? Or should the Vatican be open to negotiations with the local governments if they offer the promise, however slight, of improving the lot of believers in that country and expanding the rights of the local Church? Pius XII preferred the first option, whereas John XXIII and Paul VI made clear decisions for the third. The recent reexamination has brought the first two options back into discussion and left a question mark as to the future path the Vatican *Ostpolitik* will take.

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Pius XII's comment about negotiating with Communists—"Why speak when there is no common language?" —seems to be the motto of Casaroli's most vocal critics. Strongly anti-Communist, these observers feel that the Vatican has been confusing the basic difference between Communism and Christianity by accepting the Eastern European governments as negotiating partners. Furthermore, critics such as the Austrian Catholic journalist Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn argue, these talks are bound to fail because the Vatican enters into the negotiations in good faith while the Communists retain their goal of destroying religion. This view has received reinforcement from the ranks of the exiled Soviet dissidents. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who has denounced the West for maintaining contacts with the Soviet Union, has been equally critical of the Vatican for doing the same. Anatoli Levitin-Krasov, the founder of religious *samizdat* in the Soviet Union, thinks that Casaroli's efforts to promote his *Ostpolitik* have only compromised the Vatican in the eyes of the Soviet people. They have also encouraged the Soviet authorities to take a more cynical attitude toward religion. According to Levitin-Krasov, the Soviet Union has not complied with a single demand put forth by the Vatican. If, however, the Church were to take a

# Christian-Marxist Dialogue in America

LEONARD SWIDLER

Christian-Marxist dialogue. Can it happen? Has it happened? Does it happen? Will it happen? If so, with what results? These and similar intriguing questions can be only partially answered from the experience of a recent Symposium between Christians and Marxists on the subject of "Peaceful Co-existence and the Education of Youth."

The Symposium (the first major "Christian-Marxist Dialogue" in America) was held at Rosemont College, a Catholic women's college in the Philadelphia area, from January 10 to 13. It was co-sponsored by the Institute for International Understanding located at Rosemont College, the Institute for Peace Research (IPR) of the University of Vienna (Catholic), the International Institute for Peace (IIP) headquartered in Vienna (Marxist), Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe (CAREE—American Christians), and the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* (JES), an inter-religious dialogue quarterly published at Temple University, Philadelphia. The main organizer of the Symposium was Professor Paul Mojzes of Rosemont College, CAREE, and Managing Editor of JES, in collaboration with Dr. Vladimir Bruskov (Soviet) of the IIP and Monsignor Professor Rudolf Weiler of the IPR. Eleven of the participants were from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, ten from Central and Western Europe, and another thirty-five from North America.

Dialogue has its own intrinsic rules, and if they are not observed the possibility of dialogue will be destroyed. These rules include: being open enough to the partner as possibly to be persuaded by her or him, trusting the sincerity of the partner, maintaining at least a minimally self-critical attitude, being both sufficiently identified with one's community and sufficiently free.

The answer to the question, can Christian-Marxist dialogue happen? is, yes, if these rules are followed. Catholics know that until recently it was very difficult for them to enter into any dialogue—or to even appreciate what dialogue really meant—because the necessary freedom and self-critical attitude was largely lacking. But they changed—and became not less, but more, truly Catholic in the process. They need to grant at least the same possibility to Marxists.

Has Christian-Marxist dialogue happened? Yes, there were major conferences between such Christian theologians as Karl Rahner and Johannes Metz and such Marxist theoreticians as Adam Schaff and Milan Machovec in the middle '60s, plus joint research and publications, and personal exchanges. The *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* is one of the few American journals that regularly carried such material, but many European magazines have.

But there are problems in carrying on Christian-Marxist dialogue—far beyond those involved in a dialogue between Catholics and Protestants, Christians and Jews, Christians and Hindus, and the like. The Marxist partners do not always have the necessary minimal freedom and self-critical attitude. Marxists, or rather, Communists, are not simply representatives of a world view, but also adherents of a particular political party and social and economic system. We know from the Prague Spring of '68 that some Communists do think of Communism as including freedom and self-criticism. But we also know what happened to "Communism with a Human Face." The Communist (ultimately Soviet) withdrawal of the requisite minimal freedom and self-criticism has to a large degree led to a "withering away" of the dialogue. Much the same, though not quite in such severe fashion, has also happened to the Christian-Marxist dialogue which flourished in Yugoslavia until about 1974.

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"fundamental position," he feels, "its authority would increase immediately."

Some skeptics disagree not so much with the need for a Vatican *Ostpolitik* as with its present execution. Their doubts were well expressed in an editorial which appeared last year in the West German monthly *Stimmen der Zeit*. "Rome is compelled to stake all to preserve the life of the Church," it stated. "There is no reason to believe that Catholics would gain greater freedom if the Vatican were to set out on a confrontation course." After this initial affirmation, the editorial went on to ask a crucial question about Casaroli's diplomacy. "Has the Vatican let itself be misled by wishful thinking? Is it not rendering service to the other side without a corresponding return?"

This is where Casaroli's critics sound most like Kissinger's. The main objection to the archbishop's diplomacy, according to these skeptics, is its overtly diplomatic nature. Casaroli, they say, puts too much emphasis on "summit diplomacy" and agreements with government officials and not enough on the problems of the local Church in question. This view's most persistent supporter is probably Poland's Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski. An astute politician, Wyszynski has long understood

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Before Catholics become hyper-critical of the Communists in the matter of freedom, they should recall their hypo-critical past wherein many of their best thinkers, e.g., Lammenais, Newman, Lagrange, DeLubac, Murray, Teilhard were silenced, or worse; further, what would have been the state of Catholic freedom and self-criticism if a reactionary Vatican had succeeded in crushing Hans Küng in 1974?

Does Christian-Marxist dialogue happen now? Answering on the basis of the Rosemont Symposium, one would have to say, yes and no. The Marxists publicly insisted time and again that they in the Communist world were "firmly committed to peaceful co-existence between the East and the West on the long term, and not just as a short-term tactic," as one Soviet put it. But when Christians pressed the question, "Why was there not similar 'peaceful co-existence' with full right of expression and self-determination for the non-Marxists within Communist states?" there were only non-answer responses. For example, a Christian Democratic Union party member and representative to the East German parliament jumped up and in protest pointed to his party's existence as "proof of non-discrimination against non-Communists in East Germany." But he did not mention that his party, as each of the other non-Communist parties in East Germany, has 52 representatives in parliament (out of about 500); it can *never* have more, or less, than 52, regardless of the number of votes it receives.

Most of the Christians attended the Symposium hoping to have a Christian-Marxist dialogue. It seems most of the Marxists came wanting a socialist-capitalist meeting. Hence, both sides were somewhat disappointed. The differing goals were also reflected in the make-up of the delegations. The Christians were mostly philosophers and theologians, or scholars with strong training and orientation toward religious and ultimate human issues. The Marxists were mostly economists, sociologists, political scientists; only one was a philosopher. Consequently it was inevitable that when some Christians raised basic questions about the "meaning of human life and the rights and responsibilities human persons and communities need to live out that meaning," most of the Marxists showed no interest in probing them.

Still, in the cracks and crevices of the public structure of prepared statements and predictable responses some beginnings of dialogue occurred. Each began to learn more about how the other really is; stereotypes began to be replaced by real positions and real persons. But of course most of the real dialogue took place in the personal, individual encounters. When it became Yuri, Rudi, Paul and Len, and personal friendship and trust began, true communication, real dialogue, also began.

The most intense, forthright and fruitful public exchanges occurred in the morning and evening sessions of the last day, after a festive banquet the night before. That banquet was a turning point in the dialogue, or rather, a turning point from largely non-dialogue to beginning dialogue. The banquet was marked by European-style toasts, lots of good humor and comradely singing led by Msgr. Weiler and Dr. Bruskov. It was a rather stunning sight (and sound) to see the two of them along with an American Catholic and the Orthodox Archbishop Vladimir (Rector of the Theological Academy in Zagorsk, USSR) around a microphone singing Russian and American songs (plus "Gaudeamus igitur"), and further joined by the whole group.

The results? An important first step was taken. As every first step it was tentative, shaky, but absolutely indispensable. Clearly some early future dialogues need to focus on fundamental, more theoretical issues, with delegations picked accordingly (hopefully with a fuller representation of women experts), and some need to concentrate on more immediate practical issues, again with appropriate personnel—just as in the Ecumenical Movement, where there are "faith and order" (i.e., theoretical) and "life and work" (i.e., practical) issues and consonant agencies and activities.

With a first step behind us, I look forward to a second step.

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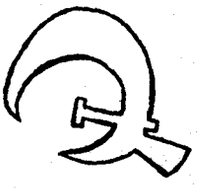
the need for some sort of understanding between Church and Communist State. But he objects to agreements between Warsaw and the Vatican which do not directly improve the Church's position at the local level. When Bishop Luigi Poggi, the Vatican's special nuntius for Poland, made a month-long visit last year, the Polish episcopate took exception to his frequent talks with government officials which ended with communiqués about peace, détente and mutual respect. "When a representative of the Holy See comes to Poland," Wyszynski commented dryly in a sermon during Poggi's visit, "it is not enough to discuss peace among nations." Rather, he felt, the Vatican diplomat should devote more time to the concrete issues confronting the local Church, such as building permits for new churches, religious instruction for children and job discrimination against believers. Poggi's fact-finding tour this year, which concentrated heavily on travel through the country and discussions with the clergy, seems to have been a response to Wyszynski's complaint.

The Vatican *Ostpolitik*'s best spokesman is undoubtedly Archbishop Casaroli himself. A charming man in his 60s, Casaroli occasionally gives speeches and interviews to explain his diplomatic approach. His guiding force, Casaroli explains, is what he calls "the Roman tradition of thinking in centuries." In this view, the primary goal of the Vatican *Ostpolitik* is the preservation of Church hierarchies, since only they can guarantee the survival of the Church at the local level. Bishops, because of their power to ordain priests, are thus the "pillars" of Casaroli's policy, and he often spends months negotiating with local officials to find episcopal candidates acceptable to both Church and State. Beyond this *sine qua non*, the archbishop feels, the Vatican should limit itself to agreements which, if even vaguely, expand the rights of the local Church. "Pope Paul's Kissinger" is wary of seeking broader-based agreements such as full diplomatic relations or concordats. In most cases, they would require far more Church-State consensus than presently exists, and would probably illuminate rather than alleviate the problems the two sides now have.

Support for East-West détente is a crucial and sometimes controversial element in Casaroli's approach. With the trend toward better relations between the superpowers has come an improved climate for the Vatican and its goals. To show its support for détente, the Vatican has been active in several areas of international diplomacy. Vatican negotiators took an active part in the wrangling at the Helsinki Conference, arguing with particular emphasis for Basket Three with its sections on human rights and religious freedoms. The Holy See has always commented favorably on Kissinger's détente diplomacy, Willy Brandt's *Ostpolitik*, and disarmament negotiations such as the SALT talks, often to the dismay of these policies' opponents abroad. Casaroli even traveled to Moscow in 1970 to add the Vatican's signature to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Of course, Vatican City is not a nuclear power and shows little interest in becoming one. But the Vatican felt the treaty was important enough for world peace that the Church's imprimatur had to be on it.

Finally, the archbishop likes to ask, does the Vatican have an alternative to détente? Statements like those of Pius XII denouncing godless Communism or examples like Joszef Cardinal Mindszenty in bitter opposition to the Hungarian government might satisfy Western critics demanding a tougher stand on Communism. But, Casaroli replies, while the Cold War bloomed, the Church in Eastern Europe suffered. Vatican diplomats were banned from the Communist countries. Mindszenty's self-imposed exile in the American Embassy in Budapest blocked the consecration of a new generation of bishops. The atmosphere has been changing since the early 1960s, and there is some increased freedom for Church leaders and a dialogue between the Vatican and the local governments. "We know that the atmosphere alone cannot solve



the problems," Casaroli has commented. "But it can contribute to a further examination of these problems and bring them closer to a solution."

How close is the Holy See to a "solution" in Eastern Europe? That depends on the country. Vatican-Yugoslav relations are generally considered a model for the Vatican *Ostpolitik*. Diplomatic ties were resumed in 1966 when the two sides signed an agreement guaranteeing the complete separation of Church and State. In the text, Belgrade accepted the Church's jurisdiction in all religious and pastoral questions, while the Vatican promised to limit Church work to those areas and discipline priests whose activities take on a political character. Under the circumstances, the agreement was rather tolerant, and bilateral relations have been satisfactory. But Yugoslavia is generally more liberal than the other Communist countries, so Casaroli can hardly expect to reach similar agreements elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

The Holy See does not have diplomatic relations with Warsaw, but the Polish Church is certainly the most influential in Eastern Europe. Almost 90 percent of all Poles are Catholics, a fact which makes Cardinal Wyszynski one of the most powerful men in the country. Until recently, Edward Gierek's government had been conducting a subtle drive to undermine the Church's position in Polish society. But, with his own power weakened after the price riots last June, Gierek has now turned to the Church for cooperation. The episcopate replied with an appeal to the people to work for the good of the country and a demand to the government



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to release workers jailed for their strike activity. After Wyszynski repeated the amnesty demand in two sharply worded sermons, Warsaw complied by releasing some of the sentenced strikers. Because of his local power base, the Polish primate is reluctant to allow the Vatican to become too active in its dealings with the Gierek government. But, despite any disagreements they may have with the Cardinal, neither the Vatican nor Warsaw wants to see him go. As a 75th birthday present, the Polish government sent Wyszynski a bouquet of flowers and Pope Paul rejected his obligatory letter of resignation.

Slow progress is being made in East Germany and Hungary. East Berlin, careful not to antagonize the large West German Catholic Church, has been rather tolerant of the Catholic 10 percent of its population. In return, the Vatican, while mindful of the West German Catholics' distrust of détente, has been making slow adjustments to postwar reality. In 1972, diocesan boundaries were redrawn to conform to the post-1945 border between Poland and East Germany. Late this past October, the Vatican announced the creation of a separate bishops' conference for East Germany, a halfway step before informal papal recognition of that country. The East German bishops had formerly belonged to the German Bishops' Conference centered in the West, but contacts had become increasingly difficult to maintain after the Berlin Wall was built. In Hungary, Church-State relations began to improve after Cardinal Mindszenty left Budapest for Viennese exile in 1971. In 1974, the Hungarian government permitted all vacant bishoprics to be filled, and eased restrictions on religious instruction, seminary admissions, and catechism and Bible printing. In March of this year, Bishop Laszlo Lekai succeeded Mindszenty as primate of Hungary; in May, he was appointed to Mindszenty's long unused seat in the College of Cardinals. Since then, Lekai has appeared in public with party leader Janos Kadar and has sought to promote Christian-Marxist cooperation in Hungary.

Elsewhere in Eastern Europe, Church-State relations are rarely as civil. The "normalization" introduced after the Soviet invasion of 1968 brought to Czechoslovakia a reintroduction of the atheist campaigns of the 1950s. Just such a campaign seems to be on the upswing now, with reports of official chicanery against priests and believers appearing more frequently in the Western European press. Bishop Poggi visited Rumania in October and Archbishop Casaroli spent a week negotiating with the Bulgarians in November, but it was the simple fact that the meetings took place rather than any special agreements resulting from them which made a slight improvement seem visible. There is a significant Catholic population in Lithuania, but there the Soviet authorities have severely restricted seminary admissions and have often tried to discredit the aging Church hierarchy.

Ironically, the Vatican has lately been opposing in its own backyard what it seeks in Eastern Europe. Since Italy's local elections of June 1975, which gave the Communists an important boost, the Vatican has been one of the most outspoken opponents of the PCI's proposed "historic compromise." Christian-Marxist cooperation, Pope Paul said before the parliamentary elections this summer, is "a hybrid linking of two irreconcilable worlds." Of course, in Poland, Church and State have had a cooperative-competitive relationship for years, and Cardinal Lekai's calls for cooperation in Hungary sound like an historic compromise in reverse. But the Vatican makes a clear distinction between countries where atheist governments already exist and countries where this can be delayed or avoided. To certain critics—especially the PCI—this may seem inconsistent. But the Holy See considers it the most flexible way of guaranteeing that its interests are protected.

Obviously, these anti-Communist pronouncements do not mesh well with Casaroli's discretion. They could cause problems for someone like Cardinal Lekai, for whom any sort of Christian-Marxist cooperation would be a significant step forward. But even more important than these temporary problems is the larger question of where the Vatican *Ostpolitik* goes from here. In East Germany, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia, most of the major barriers to Church-State dialogue have been overcome; although still at a disadvantage, the Church has at least been accepted as a legitimate representative of a certain segment of these societies and allowed a limited freedom. In the other countries, even this is far off. The question arises whether, after more than a decade of détente, this is as far as the Vatican diplomacy can get in Eastern Europe. Could there be, short of full diplomatic relations, no further concessions Casaroli can make to his negotiating partners? Might other developments, such as the recent criticism of Casaroli's diplomacy or the Vatican's drive against the Italian Communists, be creating in-house barriers to closer cooperation with the Communist leaders?

The answer to these questions might not be yes, but it tends in that direction. Until now, Casaroli has been working on the initial stage of the Vatican's détente. He has made the first visits, signed the first agreements, and consecrated some of the first bishops. Thanks to his efforts, it is now normal in Eastern Europe for Church and State to discuss their differences and, to a degree different in each country, to strive for a solution. But now that Casaroli has helped to lay down the guidelines for these negotiations and even had some success at them, it seems to be getting more difficult to progress with specific local problems. Like Kissinger, Casaroli has probably found out that it is easier to visit Moscow for the first time than negotiate there for the fifth.

With the initial barriers overcome in several countries, the emphasis of the Vatican *Ostpolitik* will probably shift to the local churches. It will be up to them to deal with



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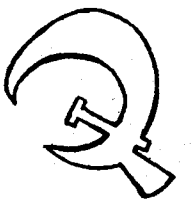
their governments within the framework Casaroli has helped to erect. Their success will depend partly on the policies of their governments and partly on their own ability to define, as Cardinals Wyszynski and Lekai are trying to do, the role of Catholics in a Communist society. As for Casaroli, he will probably continue his activity in Eastern Europe, especially in those countries where the Church is farthest from a solution. His "champagne period" is probably passing, but his influence will continue to be felt.

# AMERICA'S OSTPOLITIK

R. NEAL TANNAHILL



## The rise of Communist parties in Western Europe

The steady advance of the Italian Communist party; the rapid ascension of the Portuguese Communists; the persistent efforts of the French Communist party; the political strength of Communist parties in Finland, Iceland and Luxembourg; and the potential for the re-emergence of powerful Communist parties in Spain and Greece have given rise to alarm among Western European and American policy-makers. Henry Kissinger spoke darkly of the danger of one Western European democracy after another falling to Communism and Helmut Schmidt gravely warned the Italians about economic sanctions should Communists be allowed to enter the national government.

Undeniably, the advance of the Western European CPs does stand as a specter to Western democrats. Communists in power could mean an increase in Soviet influence in Western Europe and the possible erosion of liberal democratic freedoms and institutions, either at the hands of the Communists themselves (as in Czechoslovakia in 1948 and Portugal in 1974-1975) or at the hands of an ill-tempered reaction (as in Chile in 1973).

While the potential threat of the Communist advance should not be ignored or discounted, Western democrats, particularly Western policy-makers, should not allow it to cloud their vision to the positive potential that the electoral rise and political evolution of Western Europe's Communist parties offer for the resolution of many of the continent's more pressing socio-political problems. In at least four respects, the ascendance of the Western CPs offers the prospect for positive development to which Western policy-makers should be alert to encourage and careful not to stifle.

First, most of the major Communist parties of Western Europe (excepting only the Luxembourg and Portuguese parties from among those with the potential to win a share in government) have grown increasingly independent of the Soviet Union. With the ascendance and domination of younger generations of leaders, militants and electors whose psychological ties to Moscow are far weaker than those of their elder comrades who grew up politically in an age when the Soviet Union stood as a bastion against fascism, Western CPs are adopting international postures designed to advance their own domestic electoral and alliance strategies. As the proceedings of the recent meeting of 29 European Communist Parties in East Berlin testify, the Berlinguers, Marchaises and Carrillos of Western Europe are now willing boldly to proclaim their parties' independence, even to the face of their former Soviet mentors.

As parties of government, because of their strengthened domestic base, their need to maintain electoral support, and their desire not to alienate non-Communist government partners, Western European CPs will likely maintain and even reinforce their independence from Moscow. This development could mean the *dénouement* to whatever is left of Moscow's vision of a united world movement, the creation of an alternative form of European Communism for Eastern European Communists to compare with the Soviet brand of Communism, and the mitigation of the direct threat of the CPs to Western security (although Communist disarmament policies could still pose an indirect danger).

Secondly, tenure in office will serve to demythologize the CPs, dissipating the utopian aura which, in the eyes of many of their supporters, surrounds them. In opposition, the Communists can claim the superiority of their ideas and ideology and their supporters can and often do regard Communism as a panacea for all economic, social and political ills. Once they share national political power, however, it is very likely that the Communists will prove not to be the miracle workers that they claim to be. In the face of very difficult economic and political problems, the Communists will inevitably fall short of the expectations of their most fervent supporters. Likely, experience in office will weaken the Com-

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munists' electoral support as protest voters turn elsewhere and reduce the intensity of the CPs' support as Communist True Believers see that their heroes are mere mortals, too.

On the other hand, Communist entry into national political office will likely not lead to the unmitigated catastrophes that the more rabid anti-Communists predict. For better and for worse, Communists in government will likely perform more like the other politicians in the eyes of both their strongest supporters and most dedicated opponents. Consequently, one potential result of Communist participation in government will be a decline of ideological intensity among both Communist supporters and anti-Communists.

Thirdly, winning a share of national power electorally will tend to integrate Western European Communists into the democratic political system and give Communist leaders a personal stake in the system. When Communist parties achieve political power through electoral processes, the party, as it were, tends to develop an electorally-oriented approach to problems. Consequently, a long history of electoral competition (as in Italy, but not in Portugal) will tend to socialize the Communist party into the system. Furthermore, electoral success will reward party leaders with cabinet posts and other offices which they would be reluctant to risk by attempting to dismantle the democratic system.

Finally, the inclusion of the Communist parties into the political system will help to integrate Western Europe's working class into the political structures of Europe's democracies. One of the major Western European political problems of the twentieth century has been that of peacefully and constructively bringing the working class into the political system. In Great Britain, the Low Countries and much of Scandinavia this has been accomplished through large social democratic parties, but in much of Southern Europe, the industrial proletariat has yet to be completely reconciled to the political system. Potentially, the entry of Communist parties into the political order will further serve to bind the Communists' proletarian supporters to liberal democracy to the benefit of both the workers, whose problems have been too often ignored by the bourgeois parties, and the state, many of whose economic problems will require organized labor's cooperation for solution.

For American and Western European policy-makers, the rise of the Communist parties of Western Europe is quite frustrating. Short of military action, there is relatively little they can do to prevent electoral advances by the Communists or their entry into governments in Italy, France and perhaps elsewhere. In the final analysis, Communist political success or failure will hinge most greatly on factors upon which outside governments have little control: the perceived performance and image of Communists and non-Communists, the alliance strategies of socialist and other non-Communist parties, and domestic political, economic and social conditions.

Further, in the face of conditions over which they have little influence, American and Western European policy-makers must take care that by ill-conceived reactions they do not undermine the potential benefits (from *their* standpoint) inherent in Communist participation in government that we have outlined above. The surest way for the Western powers to lose these potential benefits is to isolate the Western Communists and punish any country that suffers them to share national power with economic sanctions (which, of course, is apparently the policy that was adopted by both Washington and Bonn). The results of this would be to drive the Western parties back toward Moscow for economic and psychological relief; provide the Western Communists with a handy excuse with which to explain the failures of their policies to their supporters; depict the Western Communists as martyrs to legions of frustrated supporters and sympathizers; and justify and intensify latent and not-so-latent anti-American and anti-democratic sentiments among the Communists.

To avoid these unpleasant repercussions and to maximize the potential for the positive development of the Western Communist parties, American and Western European policy-makers need to pursue a policy of accepting those things which they cannot change and encouraging the Western Communists to move along positive lines. While the Western powers should not undercut non-Communist allies, they should lay the groundwork for accommodating their policies to a possible entry of the French and Italian Communist parties into their respective governments and begin preparing to make the best of the situation.

If the Communists of Western Europe do achieve power constitutionally, the Western powers should behave prudently and cautiously so as to discourage overreaction in either the international money market or from the domestic military establishment, either of which would heighten domestic instability, furthering the danger to democratic freedoms and the democratic process. Carefully, the Western powers should begin constructing bridges to the Western Communist parties both to encourage their continued aloofness from Moscow and to build up some political leverage of their own.

If Communists win a share of political power in Italy, France, or elsewhere in Western Europe, it will not be a panacea for the continent's political ills. Indeed, from the standpoint of a Western liberal democrat, the dangers and the risks may well outweigh the potential advantages. Nevertheless, Western policy-makers must take care not to allow the threats of the Communists' rise totally to obscure the potential benefits. Otherwise, by ill-tempered reaction they may not only forfeit the possible benefits, but further increase the likelihood that many of their fears will be realized.



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# BOOKS

## FOR BROTHERHOOD

### For Children and Young Adults

The following titles have been selected from among the many published from August, 1975 through July, 1976 to cover a wide range of ages, interests and readability. Those books have been listed which seem best to portray relationships among people of different origins, races and religions, and depict their varied background. The list is the result of unanimous agreement by a representative committee of the best in the field for children and young adults.

*Selected by . . .*

LUCIA ENGLE, formerly Director, School Libraries New York City Board of Education.

JOSETTE FRANK, Child Study Association of America/Wel-met.

NORA KRAMER, Consultant on Books for Children and Young People. Director, the Bookplan.

LILLIAN MORRISON, Coordinator of Young Adult Services, The New York Public Library.

BARBARA ROLLOCK, Coordinator of Children's Services, The New York Public Library.

LILLIAN SHAPIRO, School Library Consultant.

ETHNA SHEEHAN, Free Lance Writer. Formerly a professor of literature for children and young people at St. John's University. Also Coordinator of Children's Services, the Queensborough Public Library.

### This selection from the complete list is presented by the publishers named below

**The Borrowed House,** by Hilda Van Stockum. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. $6.95.

Janna finds that life in occupied Amsterdam reveals frightening undercurrents. Her discovery of the beautiful house's secret and all it implies completes her disillusionment against the Nazism to which she has been so dedicated in her native Germany. (10-13)

**Carriers of the Dream Wheel: Contemporary Native American Poetry,** edited by Duane Niatum. Harper & Row. $9.95.

A beautifully designed collection of contemporary poetry by 16 poets of American Indian ancestry. The poems show a strong influence of oral tradition. Also included are photographs and brief biographical sketches for each poet as well as paintings in color. (13 and up)

**El Bronx Remembered: A Novella and Stories,** by Nicholas Mohr. Harper & Row. $5.79.

A collection of short stories depicting the life of poor Puerto Ricans in New York, written with warmth but without sentimentality. Most are about young people and deal with family life. Realistic and appealing. (13 and up)

**Fast Sam, Cool Clyde and Stuff,** by Walter Dean Myers. Viking. $6.95.

Harlem forms the backdrop for the action which "Stuff" recalls from a year of his life on 116th Street. A bitter-sweet reminiscence of approaching adolescence in the New York ghetto. (12 and up)

**Follow the River,** by James Forman. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. $6.95.

Paul, a young German, son of a Nazi doctor, joins Janaki, an Indian girl, in a long and hazardous peace march through India led by a Gandhi-like guru. In the course of it, both young people find values to live by and a deeper understanding of each other. (12-16)

**The Golda Meir Story,** by Margaret Davidson. Scribner's. $6.95.

The life story of this remarkable woman: her childhood as an immigrant in America, her home life, her early years in Palestine, and her political role in the development of the State of Israel. Written in conversational, readable style, it covers much ground, including a reflection of world events in the Hitler years. (11-13)

**Josie's Handful of Quietness,** by Nancy Covert Smith. Drawings by Ati Forberg. Abingdon Press. $4.95.

The hardships of a migrant worker's family are described through Josie's adventures and glimpses of her father whose strengths and weaknesses make him a believable character. (8-12)

**Lito the Shoeshine Boy,** by David Mangurian. Illustrated with photographs. Four Winds. $5.95.

An abandoned boy in Honduras is befriended by an American reporter. Their brief friendship, and the efforts to help Lito to a better chance in life are recorded in effective photographs and text, portraying the grim and moving realities. (9-11)

**The Massacre at Fall Creek,** by Jessamyn West. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $8.95.

In the 1800s American history was marked by violence between the white settlers and the native American Indians. The massacre at Fall Creek leads to a tension-filled trial in which, for the first time, the white man is called to justice for the killing of red men. (13 and up)

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## For the complete Books for Brotherhood list write to:
## The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y. 10019

**Mother Teresa: Her People and Her Work,** by Desmond Doig. Illustrated with photographs. Harper & Row. $15.00.

In 1948 this Yugoslav-born nun entered upon an "impossible" project: to aid the starving "street" people and the miserable lepers of Calcutta. Since then her work has spread across the world. Truly, as Mrs. Indira Gandhi says in her Foreword, she radiates love and compassion. "Who else in this wide world reaches out to the friendless and needy so naturally, so simply, so effectively?" (12 and up)

**Never to Forget: The Jews of the Holocaust,** by Milton Meltzer. Harper & Row. $6.95.

Tracing the historical events which culminated in the Holocaust, and quoting from those who endured indescribable conditions, this account is a testimonial to the courage of a too little understood people. (13 and up)

**The Phoenix Child: A Story of Love,** by Henry Viscardi, Jr. Paul S. Eriksson, Inc. $7.95.

Simply and movingly told, this is the true story of the reclamation of an abandoned six-year-old black boy, born with a cleft palate and other physical handicaps. After a stay at the Human Resources School, founded by the author, he is adopted by the college-age daughter of his white Jewish foster family and now leads a normal life. (13 and up)

**The Survivor,** by James Forman, Farrar, Straus and Giroux. $7.95.

The horrors and futility of war are graphically delineated in this disturbing novel about the gradual destruction of a Jewish family from Amsterdam during World War II. (14 and up)

**They Came to Stay,** by Marjorie Margolies and Ruth Gruber. Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc. $8.95.

An unmarried American television reporter describes her determination and eventual success, after much difficulty, in adopting and caring for two Asian orphans, a six-year-old girl from Korea, and four years later, another little girl from Vietnam .(13 and up)

**Year Walk,** by Ann Nolan Clark. Viking. $6.95.

Traditional Basque stubbornness, reinforced by his own courage and ingenuity, fortify this immigrant boy from the Pyrenees when an emergency obliges him to undertake sole responsibility for herding twenty-five hundred sheep through Idaho deserts and mountains. Period is 1910. (10-14)

**Two Sides of the River,** by David Crippen. Illustrated by David Scott Brown. Abingdon. $4.25.

On opposite sides of a river flowing through a fertile Kenyan valley live two families who have been enemies for three generations. Peace comes when a youngster from one side rescues another from the other side. (5-7)

**The Art of the Northwest Coast Indians, The Art of the Plains Indians,** by Shirley Glubok. Special photography by Alfred Tamarin. Macmillan. $7.95.

Two more beautifully presented volumes in this Art of America series depicting the many exquisite art forms expressing the daily experiences of these native Americans. Museum sources and brief but highly descriptive texts enhance the value of this series. (12 and up)

**Chicano Roots Go Deep,** by Harold Coy. Dodd, Mead. $5.95.

A serious, provocative survey of the origins, history, old customs and contemporary ways of life of a proud minority which has made its own significant—not to say fundamental—contribution to America. (10-16)

**Famous Puerto Ricans,** by Clarke Newlon. Illustrated with photographs. Dodd, Mead. $4.95.

Brief sketches of 13 individuals and one family, with a bonus biography of the Puerto Rican Mayor of Miami who wrote the important foreword. Personalities included represent the arts, government, sports, education and women's rights. More than the usual selection. (12 and up)

**Fighting Shirley Chisholm,** by James Haskins. Dial Press. $5.95.

This exciting biography for children and young people traces the career of the first black woman elected to Congress and emphasizes the positive possibilities of political activity for young people. (12 and up)

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**Founding Mothers: Women of America in the Revolutionary Era,** by Linda Grant De Pauw. Houghton Mifflin. $6.95.

The daily lives of women in the early years of America—their works, their responsibilities, their varied contributions, and the legal inequities which beset them—in a revealing, often inspiring account. (12 and up)

**Making Our Way: America at the Turn of the Century,** edited by William Katz and Jacqueline Hunt Katz. Dial. $6.95.

Lively accounts, some poignant, some humorous, are written in the words of fourteen workers who lived in turn-of-the-century America. A farmer's wife, a sweatshop girl, and cowboy Nat Love are among those whose words describe the struggling workaday America of the time. (12 and up)

**The Man Who Bought Himself: The True Story of Peter Still,** by Peggy Mann and Vivian W. Siegal. Macmillan. $7.95.

Kidnapped and sold as a slave in 1806 when only six, this little-known, proud and staunchly determined black man suffered unbelievably cruel indignities in his quest to live, with his family, as a free black. Almost half a century later, with assistance from white sympathizers, Peter Still's dream was realized. (12 and up)

**A Proper Place,** by Joan Lingard. Nelson. $5.95.

A young couple—one Protestant, the other Catholic—have surmounted the religious barriers of Northern Ireland, married (as recounted in two earlier books), and fled the religious strife of their homeland to make a life for themselves in Liverpool. There they face many problems of family and livelihood, and the too-soon arrival of their baby. Their love for one another and their courage serve them well in a warm and tender story. (13 and up)

**Song of the Trees,** by Mildred D. Taylor. Illustrated by J. Pinkney. Dial. $4.95.

Through the eyes of an eight-year-old girl this compelling story of courage at once delineates the dignity of the father of the family and the fear surrounding a black family who sees their property denuded of trees by white men. (8-10)

**Thomas Merton: The Daring Young Man on the Flying Bell Tower,** by Cornelia and Irving Sussman. Macmillan. $6.95.

A readable biography of the Catholic contemplative who became a Trappist monk at age 26 after a rather wild youth. His own autobiography, "The Seven Storey Mountain," and his writings on non-violence and contemplation have been an inspiration for many young people engaged in spiritual search. (12-16)

**Who Cares About Espie Sanchez?** by Terry Dunnahoo. Dutton. $6.95.

Fifteen-year-old Espie, Mexican-American, picked up by the police in her third attempt to run away from a bad home scene, faces the prospect of detention in Juvenile Hall. Generous and sympathetic police work sends her, instead, to a foster home where, despite her resistance, she finds herself loved and wanted for the first time, and eventually overcomes her hatred of the police to take the L.E.E.G. training to become a junior police helper. (9-12)

**Wingman,** by Manus Pinkwater. Dodd. Mead. $5.50.

A look at a modern Chinese-American is afforded in this picture book about young Donald who rediscovers his Asian identity through the adventures of Wingman, his comic book hero. (7-10)

**Zia,** by Scott O'Dell. Houghton-Mifflin. $7.95.

This sequel to the "Island of the Blue Dolphins" unfolds the story of Zia and her repressed life in the Santa Barbara Mission, her dream of rescuing her aunt from the island and her own freedom after the sad death of Karanás. (12 and up)

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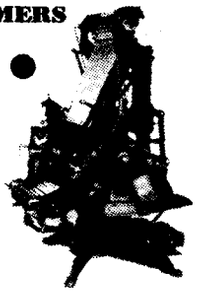
**WINNERS, LOSERS, DREAMERS**

# PRESS



The Battle of the Somme took place a long time ago —nearly 61 years ago, now—but it was not the sort of thing anyone would be likely to forget. It was not like the Battle of Bunker Hill, or Austerlitz, or Bull Run, fought and won or lost in a day. It lasted more than four months, from July 1 through the first week in November of 1916.

But what those who took part most remember was the first day. It began with a terrific artillery bombardment of the German lines and then in the eerie silence after the barrage ended, along miles of muddy front, the British soldiers climbed up out of their trenches and began to walk toward the Germans. Before the day was over 60,000 of those British soldiers had been killed or wounded. Sixty thousand, in one day.

When Martin Middlebrook began to do research for his book, *First Day on the Somme*, in 1965, not quite 50 years after the battle, he found that the memories of its survivors were still vivid. He talked to 500 participants from both sides, and more than one told him they still dreamed about the first day. Even now, when the survivors are in their late seventies or eighties, there must be men who dream of the first day. It's 10 a.m. as I write, 5 a.m. in Britain, 4 a.m. in Germany, if I've got the time zones right. Perhaps someone is dreaming of that battle at this very moment.

You've got a right to ask why I'm bringing this up now, and I can't offer much by way of a reason. But I often think of those men dreaming about the worst day of their lives, most recently while reading Gloria Emerson's book about Vietnam, *Winners and Losers: Battles, Retreats, Gains, Losses and Ruins from a Long War.*

Few books have been as widely reviewed this winter, and none has posed quite such a problem for reviewers, or brought forth expressions of such passionate admiration, or of pique, irritation and outright anger. This isn't surprising when you consider how people reacted to the war itself, and it's even less surprising once you read the book.

Gloria Emerson was a reporter for the *New York Times* who spent two years in Vietnam at the beginning of the 1970s. Those were dull years for a lot of reporters, after the Tet offensive of 1968, but before the big battles in the spring of 1972. Nixon was bringing the troops home, the American public had grown indifferent, lonely anti-war activists were bitterly joking that after the Old Left and the New Left came the What's Left. Editors were moving the Vietnam story inside, a lot of papers were cutting their staffs or closing down their Saigon bureaus altogether, sending in a man from time to time from Hong Kong. For many reporters Vietnam was a dead story, but Emerson did not seem to see it as a "story" at all. Her dispatches were not the usual reports of battles and Saigon politics, and her book is very far from being a reporter's book. By that I mean it's not an account of what happened. She makes only the barest allusions to why she thinks things turned out as they did, and does not have one word to say about the war as a continuation of policy by other means. I have not gone back to check, but I doubt you could even find the word "policy" in her book at all.

Instead it's a collection of small incidents, details, scraps of conversation, odd and disjointed remarks, interviews with civilians who do not have a single clear idea about the war, unless it's the impression that we fought the entire war with one hand tied behind our backs.

This is the kind of thing Emerson has put in her book: a former military chaplain who said, in 1967, "If Christ were alive today, he would be a Marine carrying a rifle." A soldier's remark that he used to rub Vick's Vapo-rub in his nostrils to kill the stench of bodies. A young officer in shock during a battle who was told by a doctor to breathe inside a paper bag because he was only hyperventilating; and the *Times* editor who cut the incident from a story because "it doesn't take us very far." The woman who said Emerson's assignment to Vietnam was a "once in a lifetime chance." A squad of Marines who refused to eat apricots because one of their buddies had stepped on a mine the same day a sergeant had eaten apricots. A blind veteran who said he used to look like Robert Wagner, the movie actor, and then removed his dark glasses and asked Emerson, "What do I look like now?" A veteran who said half of the Americans killed in Vietnam probably would have died in car accidents at home. Ellsworth Bunker singing the Whiffenproof song at a meeting of the Saigon Yale Club, founded by himself. A woman who asked what Emerson wore to officers' dances. And many, many Vietnamese, wounded, dead, scared and bewildered. One of the latter, an officer in ARVN, wanted to know why U.S. veterans were throwing away their medals at the Capitol in Washington? Were they demanding more veterans' benefits? In Vietnam, he told Emerson, the Americans wanted to win the war so much they became angry at the Vietnamese for not trying hard enough.

After leaving Vietnam in early 1972, Emerson spent a year at Harvard where she talked to students who knew a lot of facts about the war but only listened impassively when she tried to explain what it was like. That was a bad year.



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Later she spent several years interviewing Americans about the war for her book, not just veterans but their families and neighbors. "Asking them how they felt about the war, I have heard stories about termites, the evil of welfare, diets that did not work, poor bus service, abortion, the horrible costs of feeding cattle and teenagers, busing, crime, useless back operations, the evil of welfare, whether hair dyes cause cancer, how hard it is to pick tobacco by hand, the danger of eating certain fish, crime, the trouble with a car called Capri, busing, why Coca Cola costs more than beer, ugly marriages. . . ." Those were bad years too.

She worried about her Vietnamese interpreter, a man named Nguyen Ngoc Luong. She tried to explain things to people who missed the point. "A psychologist, all smile and water, says TM helps bad dreams, as if dreams were unnecessary, an impediment to life. Sometimes Luong comes into my dreams; I am always glad to see him there."

She often thought of abandoning her book but always went back to it because she didn't want people to forget, "so when all of us are dead a long record will exist, at least in a few libraries."

One suspects that 1977 is going to look like a bad year too, in retrospect. Emerson finally finished her book but then people reacted to it in ways which were almost crazed, her friends and detractors equally agitated and insistent. Alden Whitman in the *Chicago Tribune* said *Winners and Losers* "elevates her to the apex of living American writers. . . . Such is the caliber of Emerson's writing, the exquisite tension she creates, that she can justly be said to be our very best. She reminds me of Lincoln and Wendell Phillips and Sandburg. . . . Out of the ordure and offal of Vietnam we have been vouchsafed a book of genuine greatness and largeness of spirit. We should bow our heads in gratitude."

Wendell Phillips? Bow our heads? I don't doubt Whitman liked the book but there is something loony about this extreme reaction.

The unpersuaded went at her book with equal vigor. James Fenton in the Sunday and Christopher Lehmann-Haupt in the daily *Times* were very definite. Fenton saw Emerson's view of the war as a "rolling pin" with which she was beating the reader, and succeeded in keeping well out of the way himself; and Lehmann-Haupt found her not only as willful and priggish as a child but actually—through her "moral superiority, her inability to objectify, her confusion of categories, her romanticism, her sloppy language, her lack of historical imagination, her Manicheanism"—guilty of the very attitudes which got us into the war to begin with. He disliked the book so much, in other words, that he was almost ready to claim the war was . . . *her fault*. . . .

There is something fevered about such responses, to say the least. The only common note in most reviews, whether for or against, was puzzled disappointment that Emerson had not explained what the problem was. What went wrong, anyway? What was the lesson?

There are two answers to that objection. The first is that she says a lot more on that score than most readers seem to have noticed. The book builds slowly, describing one wounding collision of America and Vietnam after another. Emerson tells us a lot about the ignorance of American civilians, the blundering of the American military, the confusion and venality of the Saigon soldiers, the tenacity and discipline and crazy single-mindedness of the Vietcong and North Vietnamese. Gradually we get the point. By page 295, where Emerson quotes a CIA agent who said the problem was the terrain—the *terrain*! !—we know why we lost.

But the reasons are almost beside the point. *Winners and Losers* isn't about winning and losing. It's about the oldest and simplest of subjects: the pain of war. Emerson doesn't really care what we think about the war; she only wants to know if it touched us? Did we understand how much it hurt? Did we care? Not just the occasional twinge or gasp at a photo of a naked girl running down the road, but did we really care, a lot, for everybody, all the time?

To see the pain of war once, is to see everything in a new light. I remember a journalist who spent four years in Vietnam telling me late one night that he couldn't understand how he could have treated the war as a *story* for so long, how he could have been so *careless*. . . .?

Caring about the horror of war may seem an easy and natural thing, but it's not. Our hearts don't go out easily; they harden. We turn away. We think of other things. The special horror of the 20th century has been our discovery of the ease of carelessness.

It takes work to care about things; feeling has to be learned like another language. Emerson has worked hard to learn to care what the war did to people but her command of the idiom is erratic. The sound of her voice can be harsh, grating, upsetting, irritating, unnerving, affecting, infuriating. I mean that she has tried to find a way to make us see and care, and sometimes her way works, and sometimes it doesn't. Her way is very far from the reporter's; it is hard to imagine Emerson ever going out on a story again. She is not knowing or analytic or informative or anecdotal or debunking or any of the other things which reporters are. Her tone instead is one of absolute conviction that no detail of this awful war can be flat or irrelevant.

The reader, it must be said, sometimes wilts under the glare of this fierce intensity. There cannot be many altogether clear consciences where Vietnam is concerned. Emerson calls us to a high standard. Fenton calls it a "rolling pin." Lehmann-Haupt calls it "quintessentially boring." Other reviewers have called it "snobbery" or "self-righteousness." But whatever else Emerson's critics have said, no one called her a fraud. No one



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even hinted so much as a suspicion she was putting it on. I suspect they didn't dare.

In another month the war will have been over for two years. The American people have felt all they are ever going to feel about this war. The argument is narrow now; fewer people are paying attention, and the number will grow smaller. This is natural and right. But those who think Emerson will forget and "get over" the war, as if it were a seasonal flu, are wrong. We may stop paying attention, but I doubt she's ever going to stop remembering.

She's 45 now. If she quits smoking she may live another 35 or 40 years. In A.D. 2010 she'll still be dreaming about Luong and the things that happened in Vietnam. After that there will be only the books.

THOMAS POWERS

**WOMEN'S WORK**

# THE SCREEN

The fundamental likeness between Jeanne Moreau's *Lumière* and Barbara Kopple's *Harlan County U.S.A.* —that they were both made by women—is not immediately apparent. In fact, aside from the conceit that they are both documentaries, their differences are at first much more noticeable than their similarities. I was discussing Moreau's film in my last column, and maintaining that it is, for all its fantasy, a record of Moreau's own life. It is ambiguously a dream had by someone asleep and a memory of actual events, and in so far as it is the latter, it is a documentary as much as a fiction film. Kopple's is a documentary film too, and solely a documentary, about a coal-mine strike in Kentucky. Yet even when conceded to be a documentary, Moreau's film seems obviously different from Kopple's—dialectically different, to put it in appropriate Marxist terms. In Moreau's world the people are beautiful to look at and almost all problems are mental. In the world of Harlan County, from bad teeth to gunshot wounds, almost all the problems are rock-bottom physical. It's a world whose inhabitants are governed in the most fundamental way by the laws of matter. Where the people in *Lumière* are rich, famous and chic, those in *Harlan County* are poor, isolated and oppressed. Where *Lumière* is a documentary of the self, *Harlan County* is a documentary of otherness.

Although Kopple's film does concentrate on the women of Harlan County, I doubt that it was her intention to do so when she first went there to cover an organizing strike at the Brookside Mine in 1973. For one thing, a coal-mine strike would seem to be an affair among men; and for another, while Kopple did work on Sandra Hochman's *Year of the Women*, her experience was acquired predominantly on *Winter Soldier* and Peter Davis's *Hearts and Minds*. The politics that drew her to Harlan County, in other words, must have been more Leftist than Feminist. In these traditional political terms, however, the Brookside strike was a pretty discouraging experience. Far from affirming the old values of left-wing militancy and the united front, the film seems to lay them to rest almost.

The context which the film provides for the Brookside strike is a newsreel history of the U.M.W. stretching from John L. Lewis's rhetoric through Tony Boyle's conviction for the Yablonski murders to current rank-and-file disaffection with the reform presidency of Arnold Miller. And like that general history, the story of the Brookside strike is one of obduracy, implacability, hardship and violence—of gains so late, so small, so dearly won and so easily betrayed that they hardly make any difference. For the men, working and striking alike are filled with such danger and worry that both seem only a dispiriting drudgery. The leaders have to plead with the men to get them to picket. The owners only decide to settle when one of their gun thugs actually kills a striker. And after all this, we hear an old veteran of the mines tell us as he goes back to work in the pre-dawn that he still can't retire because he would starve on his pension.

Like the place in which they work, the whole realm of possibility in which these men live is dim, stifling and relentlessly grinding. Inevitably, the men reflect this. We cannot help suspecting from Kopple's presentation that the men are just repeating once again an endless, futile cycle, and that they themselves suspect as much. In Harlan County they've been through all this before, back in the 1930s. That time the owners broke the strike and beat back the unionization attempt, so here the miners are, forty years later, still trying to win just the right to organize under the U.M.W. Doing so now is doubly hard, too. At least in the thirties you could feel you were part of a national effort going on in other vital industries—that the time was right. Now the time is long past. The automobile workers who shared those struggles of the thirties are now bored with the benefits they won, while the coal miners are still trying just to win them.

All this makes the role that the miners play in their own strike seem a rather debilitated one. But the role that the women of Harlan County play is something else again. At one point Kopple is interviewing an old woman who was once made to evacuate her house when a nearby mine exploded. "They said it was because the house was in danger I had to leave," she sneers. "But it wasn't that at all: it was because they didn't want me to see what they was doing down there." As she reaches this conclusion the words crowd



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quicker and quicker into her throat and the breath between them becomes ever more compressed, until we see that the explosion in the mine was nothing compared to the explosion of insight and realization that has been building in her over the years. All the women in Kopple's film give this impression—the impression of a subterranean rage bursting forth at last.

Perhaps because Kopple and most of her crew were women themselves, the women's committee of the strike took them into its confidence more readily than the men seem to have. Or perhaps it was just that the women originally felt their actions were less significant than the men's; and therefore, thinking they had less to hide, they were less self-conscious, more open, with Kopple. That the women at first thought of themselves as auxiliary and peripheral seems likely, for *Harlan County* makes us feel that they grew a lot during the time Kopple was filming them. At one of the meetings of the women's committee, for instance, a procedural disagreement degenerates into name-calling, accusations of loose morals, man-stealing, etc. But then suddenly one of the women not involved jumps in with the declaration that none of those things matters. If you want my husband, she says, take him. All she cares about now is overcoming for her kids the misery and oppression of their life. Like ontogeny recapitulating phylogeny, the course of this meeting in the Kentucky wilds seems at this moment to embody much recent evolution of the consciousness of women everywhere. We realize that this woman has just made a greater leap than any of the miners themselves are likely to be able to make through their strike.

We certainly feel that the reason Kopple became so directly involved in the strike, instead of just documenting it, was the identification she had with these Harlan County women. They were the ones who seem, often, to have sustained the picket lines. The first gun we see a striker brandish in answer to the violence of the company thugs is one a woman pulls out of her cleavage at a meeting of the women's committee. In covering the leadership that such a woman provides, Kopple gets shot at herself in one sequence, and her people are knocked down, kicked and beaten in another. Hanging in there with the miners' wives and mothers on the picket lines, Kopple obviously came to feel that she too was a part of the strike. The sequences where the gun thugs challenge her and her crew are interspliced with those where the thugs confront the strikers themselves as if it were really all the same.

In the end, then, *Harlan County* is perhaps not so far removed from Moreau's *Lumière* as it may at first have seemed. The only thing Kopple's film really affirms is the spirit of those Harlan County women. The only consolation or hope to be taken from what we see in the film comes from what we see of them. Other-directed though Kopple's film is, I think she clearly finds in the women she filmed an ideal for herself. More than any evidence it provides of poverty or injustice in eastern Kentucky, *Harlan County* turns out to be evidence of the strength that the impulse towards identification, towards "sisterhood," has among women these days. And in this regard *Harlan County* is, like *Lumière*, an act of self-discovery by a woman, a documentary of the self.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

# JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY: BELATED HERO

**PHILIP SCHARPER**

***John Courtney Murray: Theologian in Conflict***

DONALD E. PELOTTE, S.S.S.

*Foreword by Martin Marty*

*Paulist Press*, $9.95

One can only be grateful that this book has appeared. A work of careful research, it recreates a dramatic segment of recent Roman Catholic history, and rescues the protagonist of that drama from the near-oblivion which seemed about to enshroud his memory.

The drama, as we can now see, was far larger than the struggle of John Courtney Murray against his theological opponents, who seemed determined that the Church in the United States would remain forever an ideological suburb of Vatican City. With no one, including himself, able to discern it at the time, Murray was carrying much of the Church into the future as he strove to bring both its principle and policy into the modern world of religious pluralism and the freedom of the individual either to believe or not believe.

He conducted for a decade a high-level debate with adversaries who thought theology the art of writing glosses upon glosses. For a time they prevailed. Murray was silenced. But then, with one of those unpredictable turns which both delight and dismay historians, John XXIII convoked the Second Vatican Council. Murray was "vindicated," and became the principal

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architect of its statement on religious freedom, which may have been the greatest of the many achievements of the "unexpected Council."

It is all set forth by Donald Pelotte with meticulous care and wide-ranging but controlled scholarship. Pellote is not a man to be seduced into a gossipy paragraph or even into a well-founded conjecture. If something is not in print —books, articles, archives—then for Pelotte's purposes, quite properly, it does not exist. No future historian, or even journalist-commentator, can approach this period of Church history or the figure of John Courtney Murray and remain ignorant of this book. It is a splendid example of what historical writing should be: building on the work of others, it becomes indispensable for any further writing in its field.

As a paradoxical result of Pelotte's flat, factual presentation, his study of Murray as a "theologian in conflict" revived in memory what I had always felt him to be—an embodiment of the lonely American hero, not in literature, but in life.

D. H. Lawrence, in his *Studies in Classic American Literature*, speaks of James Fenimore Cooper's most Romantic hero with a scarcely romantic name—Natty Bumppo. In Bumppo, Lawrence saw a depiction of "the essential American soul—isolate, almost selfless, stoic, enduring."

In fairness to his memory, I would not wish to strain the analogy of Father Murray to "the essential American soul." Nor could I, in fidelity to my own remembrance, deny that in my deepening acquaintance with him from 1956 on, he seemed increasingly 'isolate, almost selfless, stoic, enduring.'

His isolation was brought home to me in the preparation of his major work, *We Hold These Truths*. Frank Sheed, a long-time friend, had for years tried to persuade Murray to write a book, but no book came. As American editor of Sheed and Ward, I searched out every article Murray had ever written (including one he had published as a Jesuit scholastic teaching in the Philippines), and selected those which seemed to make an organic work centered around "Catholic Reflections Upon the American Proposition," the sub-title of the eventual book.

Father Murray was much too harried by his teaching, the editorship of *Theological Studies*, his public lectures and his continuing published debates with Monsignor Fenton and the *American Ecclesiastical Review* possibly to write a book over that period. Nor did he have to. He had already written it, over a span of years. When Frank Sheed presented him with the proposed contents of *We Hold These Truths*, Murray expressed surprise, and then full consent.

Several months later, as the book was moving into page proofs, I asked Father Murray to whom he wished to dedicate it. He said, "To you, Phil." When I pointed out that a dedication to an editor would be rather unusual and misplaced, he said, "Well, then, I guess to no one."

"Isolate." No dedication of his first major work? I told him he would have


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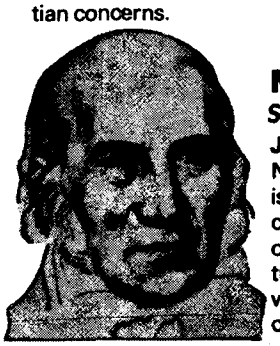

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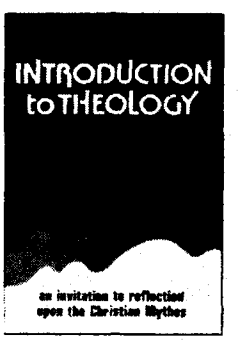


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several weeks to choose a dedication, but he later phoned to tell me none would be forthcoming.

In part, I could understand. Just five years before, his Jesuit superiors in Rome had quietly ordered him to end all public statements on Church-State relations, since his earlier writings on the subject had stirred the active animosity of Cardinal Ottaviani and the Holy Office.

Murray accepted the command not to rock the Ark, but if he expected strong public support from his fellow American Jesuits, he received very little. He had gone out on a limb, and while none of his brothers handed him up a sharp saw, at best they kept moving beneath him with a fireman's net. He had waged his theological battle alone, and he was alone in what he called his "defeat."

One's feeling that Father Murray was an isolate figure would not depend, of course, on a single circumstance such as that of his silencing. Unfailingly kind, a good companion, he moved affably and urbanely through many circles, but he did seem to move *through* them. An intensely private person almost to the point of shyness, he had many friends but apparently few intimates.

"Stoic," yes, and "enduring." There is a great degree of stoicism built into Jesuit spirituality, with its emphasis on Ignatian indifference and unquestioning obedience. But not every Jesuit, obviously, could have accepted with Murray's near equanimity a decision of his superiors "to close the door on the past ten years." He neither stormed nor sulked, but like Natty Bumppo after the loss of Judith Hutter, quietly turned the current of his life into writing and lecturing about the roles Catholicism might and should play within American life.

"Almost selfless." In a basic sense, Murray did not choose the themes of Church-State relations and religious liberty which would occupy the last twenty years of his life. The themes chose him. As Catholics entered prominently into American life, many of their fellow-citizens publicly questioned whether one could be both a Catholic and an American without denying or at least diminishing one of the dual loyalties. Murray was American enough to realize that the question was genuine; he was creative theologian enough to know that the question could not be met by dusting off the ancient answers.

So, while still teaching the traditional courses on grace and the Trinity at Woodstock, he ventured into theological thickets wherein he had to cut his own path. He was later to refer to this period as "the long distraction of the religious liberty issue," but it was a distraction which brought him bitter opposition, misunderstanding, official disfavor and a constant pushing of his perilous health.

> *For Murray, dialogue between serious men about serious things was* a sine qua non *of civilized society. The end in view was not necessarily agreement but frequently that kind of understanding which is presupposed by honest disagreement. Such Christian realism might well prove an excellent norm for those who have accepted his challenge to commit themselves as Catholics to America's role in history.*
>
> —John Courtney Murray: Theologian in Conflict

As much in his life, then, as in his writings, John Courtney Murray demonstrated that one can fiercely hold a clear-eyed commitment to being both an American and a Roman Catholic—and even be a quintessential Jesuit.

Almost by way of postscript: To those with any interest in the Catholic theology of the fifties and sixties, it could come as surprise, even mild shock, that seminarians and even theologians in the seventies seem to have so little interest in Murray.

Much of it is understandable, of course. After Vatican Council II, theology found so many new channels: the death of God, the Secular City, theology of hope, the Christian-Marxist dialogue, liberation, black theology, political theology.

In the less than two years of life remaining between the end of the Council in December, 1965 and his death in August, 1967, Murray had begun to enter into each of these areas in his new post as director of the John La Farge Institute in New York City. Had he lived on, with even his lacework health, his contributions to these new areas of inquiry and profound human concern might well have proven as great as his work on religious liberty.

It is certainly safe to conjecture that he would have been among the first North Americans to see the values of liberation theology as it developed in Latin American. "Freedom," wrote Murray two years before his death, "in the deepest experience of it, is love. To be free is to be-for-the-others. The Christian call to freedom is inherently a call to community, a summons out of isolation . . . an impulse to service of the others."

One can only hope that Christian theologians below the age of forty will read this book, and not regard it simply as a chronicle of "old, unhappy, far-off things, and battles long ago." In my voicing this hope recently to a youngish, but recognized theologian, he replied, "But we now know so much more than Murray did." Precisely. And Murray is one of the more important things we know.

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RALPH MCINERNY, a professor of philosophy at Notre Dame, recently published *Her Death of Cold* (Vanguard).

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# CRITICS' CHOICES

## Michael J. Bandler

Despite critical grumblings about the mediocrity of the publishing year just past, 1976 clearly produced an abundant crop of volumes of Judaica. The queue began forming last February, led by Irving Howe's awesome socio-cultural opus on East European immigration, *World of Our Fathers* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, $14.95; Simon & Schuster, $7.95, paperback). Looking back, one is struck by the unifying sense of relevance pervading the list, for contemporary and future audiences alike.

Four titles are especially worth mentioning:

*To Jerusalem and Back* (Viking, $8.95). This personal, precious, provocative journal is more than Saul Bellow's first flirtation with non-fiction and his first set of declarative thoughts on Jewish history and destiny. Blessed by its author's gifts of narrative and imagery, this is a vibrant, loving piece of literature, laced with the politics that is inescapable when inhaled during several months in Israel. Troubling—as Bellow searches desperately for resolution and reconciliation, it is, ultimately, an uplifting book, imbued with a multi-hued beauty that only a literary genius like Bellow can create.

*Messengers of God: Biblical Portraits and Legends* (Random House, $8.95). Elie Wiesel is inexorably linked with the Holocaust, a storyteller determined to keep the world from forgetting the lessons of the immediate past. But there is another side to him—that of Biblical and Talmudic scholar—known largely to his students and lecture attendees. It is this facet which is limned in this series of capsule reflections on Biblical household names (a companion volume to his *Souls on Fire*, portraits of Hasidic solons). By blending ancient texts with commentaries and legends, Wiesel removes the patriarchs and prophets from the pantheon—as it were—and enables us to see them as ordinary men, with all their shortcomings and strengths—a contemporary view of what they were in their time, as well as what they would become in ours.

*Wake Up, Wake Up, To Do The Work Of The Creator* (Harper & Row, $8.95). At last someone has written a detailed, sensitive memoir of an Orthodox Jewish upbringing, with all its caveats, customs and temptations, filled with the wonders and pleasures that too often are blurred by an overemphasis on the proscriptive mores. The author is William B. Helmreich, whose career has straddled two worlds—the secular and religious. Painstakingly etched, it is at times a trifle antiseptic, in terms of his family's daily lifestyles. Yet overall, it is honest and thorough, as it carries its hero through the formative years. How did he fuse his two worlds after age 15? That is the stuff of a sequel.

*The Second Jewish Catalog* (Jewish Publication Society, $7.50, paperback). The unprecedented success of the first do-it-yourself guide to Jewish practice—arising out of the counterculture movements of the Sixties—has resulted in this sequel, again compiled and edited by Sharon Strassfeld and Michael Strassfeld. Each is an indispensable source book, filled with essential data for living the cultural and/or religious Jewish life. This volume, though, tends towards a more selfless approach, concerned as it is with contemporary medical issues, the handicapped, and drawing others closer to the faith. Some may quibble with the emphasis or tone of the book. No matter. Its impact, I suspect, will be fully evident in the future in Jewish demographic tables.

One could go on. More space would allow for a fairer, and fuller discussion of *New Lives* (Knopf, $8.95), Dorothy Rabinowitz's landmark survey of the path carved in America by survivors of the Holocaust; Howard M. Sachar's *A History of Israel* (Knopf, $20), a lucid one-volume chronicle of the Jewish state from the first stirrings in some pamphlets in the mid-1830's to the *realpolitik* of the mid-1970's; *Story of My Life* (Morrow, $15), by Moshe Dayan, and Yigal Allon's *My Father's House* (Norton, $7.95), two complementary views of the three-generational struggle to create and preserve Israel; and *Judaism: Law and Ethics* (Soncino, $9.75), a rich lode of essays by the late Chief Rabbi of Israel, Dr. Isaac Herzog, that applies Talmudic scholarship to a variety of


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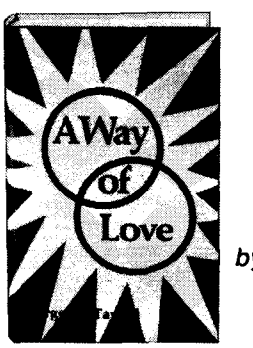


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judicial, scientific and philosophical concerns, and stresses the sage's awareness of the applicability of ancient wisdom to contemporary developments. Finally, for youngsters, Isaac Bashevis Singer has produced a typically joyous short story collection set in Eastern Europe a century ago—*Naftali the Storyteller and His Horse, Sus* (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $6.95). It rounds out a healthy year for Jewish books.

## Francine Cardman

From the odd assortment of books that I've read in the past year, not all of them current, not all of them of wider interest, it has been an intriguing exercise to select those that I liked best and/or would recommend to others. I leave off some obvious choices for some obvious reasons—Bernard Cooke's *Ministry to Word and Sacrament* (I'm *in medias res*), or Hans Küng's *On Being A Christian* (haven't even started yet)—and I hope that others will comment on them. The titles that follow are the results of chance as much as choice.

Rosemary Radford Ruether's *New Woman, New Earth* (Seabury, $8.95) is a collection of essays that provocatively draws the connections between sexism and other ideologies of domination. Taking the subordination of women by men as the basic pattern of oppression, Ruether suggests the ways in which this pattern extends to other spheres of human life, so that racial and ethnic subordination, economic and ecological exploitation all relate to and reinforce the hierarchical relationship of male to female. For those only beginning to ponder the questions raised by women's liberation, Ruether's book will be an eye-opener; for others who've begun the journey to the new land, it will make clear how much ground there is to be covered while it offers an encouraging glimpse of the goal.

There is not a direct connection between the women's liberation movement and the movement for gay liberation, but the two are, nevertheless, related. The reexamination of male-female relationships in the context of the women's movement has led to a reconsideration of sexuality in general and homosexuality in particular. Perhaps the most striking aspect of this discussion has been the revelation of how little is certain about either topic. In *The Church and the Homosexual* (Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, $10.) John J. McNeill, S.J., reexamines the Christian tradition in regard to homosexuality, making use of current biblical, theological and ethical reflection as well as recent biological and psychological research. While certainly not the last word, McNeill's attempt to formulate a pastoral and moral response of the church to the homosexual community is a needed intermediate word.

St. Jerome, fourth century church father and subject of J. N. D. Kelly's excellent biography, *Jerome* (Harper & Row, $15), would have approved of neither women's liberation nor gay liberation. A formative figure in western church history—translator of the Vulgate, fierce promoter of asceticism, and zealous controversialist—Jerome has been surprisingly neglected in the English-speaking scholarly world. Kelly's study of Jerome's life, writings and controversies goes a long way toward remedying this basic lack, and will quickly become a standard work.

A spirituality much different from Jerome's is offered by Henri J. M. Nouwen's *Genesee Diary* (Doubleday, $6.95). The record of his seven-month retreat to a Trappist monastery, this is not Nouwen's best book. But it is intriguing and significant for at least two reasons: it offers, almost unintentionally, a reflection on the subtle interrelationship between psychology, counseling, spiritual direction and religious growth; and it shows Henri Nouwen as a human being who is as neurotic as the rest of us. In an age given to guru-seeking, this latter may be one of the best gifts that he can offer to his many friends and followers.

A final book that is not recent but which I found fascinating is *Egeria's Travels* (SPCK, $15—a paper version is out of print), John Wilkinson's translation of the diary of a fourth century woman's pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This record of a dauntless traveler and relentlessly curious observer is both delightful and informative; Wilkinson's notes and appendices are invaluable, the result of many years in Jerusalem, and his translation is lively.

## George G. Higgins

*Ministry to Word and Sacraments: History and Theology*. Bernard Cooke. Fortress Press, $25.

"Monumental" is the only word to describe this massive but very readable synthesis of the history and theology of Christian ministry, which "is not an incidental item on the agenda of the church today (but) is basic to everything Christianity claims to be and attempts to do." The author, who is currently teaching at Calgary University, is being overly modest when he states in his Preface that the present crisis "seems to demand that we run the risk of . . . scholarly inadequacy." Whether inadequate or not, his *magnum opus*, which was ten years in the making, is in a class by itself and is likely to remain so for years to come.

*Orestes A. Brownson: A Definitive Biography*. Thomas R. Ryan, C.PP.S. Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., $29.95.

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I was put off at first by the fact that Father Ryan's 872-page biography of one of the great figures in American Church history bears the imprint of a "churchy" press which traditionally has never specialized in scholarly publications. I am glad I overcame that petty prejudice, for Ryan's labor of love, which he has been working on for a lifetime, is certainly, as the subtitle puts it, "a" if not "the" definitive biography of Brownson. While I found Ryan's style a bit stilted or, if you will, archaic in spots and would quarrel with a few of his conclusions, I do not regret having spent the entire Christmas season, morning, noon and night, reading his impressive work. Sincere thanks to *Our Sunday Visitor* for making it available to the general reading public, even at the obvious risk of losing money on it. It represents an appropriate *OSV* contribution to the Catholic observance of the Bicentennial.

*Simone Weil: A Life*. Simone Pétrement. Pantheon Books, $15.

A recent review (in *Saturday Review*) of a new biography of Mahatma Gandhi says, in criticism of Gandhi, that sanctity is "a selfish enterprise. The saint is a man so neurotically absorbed with his soul's state of health that he becomes a kind of spiritual hypochondriac, one who, at bottom, would really rather be sick." Some have said pretty much the same thing about Simone Weil who, much to her chagrin, was often referred to as a saint even during her lifetime, but the author of this fascinating biography gives her ungenerous critics the lie. Simone Weil was admittedly different and sometimes rather difficult—perhaps a bit odd by contemporary standards—but her form of sanctity was anything but a selfish enterprise. To the contrary, she was one of the most unselfish and most charitable people I have ever read about. Her biographer carefully reexamines but does not resolve the perennial question as to why she wavered so long on the brink of Roman Catholicism without ever coming in. That question is ultimately insoluble. On the other hand, the publisher's blurb to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no great mystery about her relationship to Judaism. The dust jacket says that she broke with Judaism, but all the evidence indicates that she never had any ties to the Jewish faith and, in fact, entered a synagogue only once in her life, and then not for liturgical or credal purposes. In short, she was neither a Jew nor a Catholic, but a restless, brilliant, and truly mystical searcher for the truth and for God amidst the misery and suffering of the poor. She was undoubtedly a genius of sorts, but was she also a saint? If she wasn't, may God have mercy on the rest of us. We are not even in the running.

*Auschwitz: A Beginning of a New Era? Reflections on the Holocaust*. Edited by Eva Fleischner. KTAV Publishing House, New York. Clothbound $17.50; Paperbound $8.95.

A 469-page collection of papers given at the multi-disciplinary International Symposium on the Holocaust held at the Cathedral of Saint John the Divine, New York City, June 1974. A joint effort by a representative cross section of Jewish, Protestant and Catholic scholars who came together to speak of one of the most unspeakable crimes in human history. We are all invited, by means of this important publication, to join in their dialogue in the hope, as the Editor puts it in her moving Introduction, that the effort of common reflection "may help us understand, assume the past for the sake of the present. . . . In the face of the Holocaust neutrality becomes apathy, noninvolvement becomes guilt."

*The Runaway Church: Post-Conciliar Growth or Decline*. Peter Hebblethwaite. Seabury Press, $8.95.

In my judgment, this is the most sophisticated, most nuanced, most urbane—in short, the best—of all the books that have been written in English on the changes that have taken place (and the changes still to come) in the post-Conciliar Church. The author, a former Jesuit and former Editor of the British Jesuit periodical, *The Month*, is a friend of mine, so I may be prejudiced, but let me say it anyhow—he is


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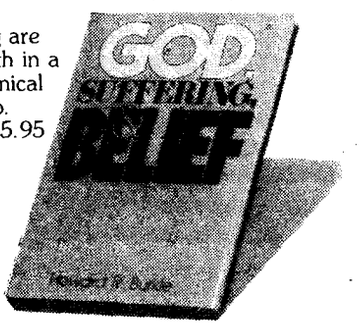


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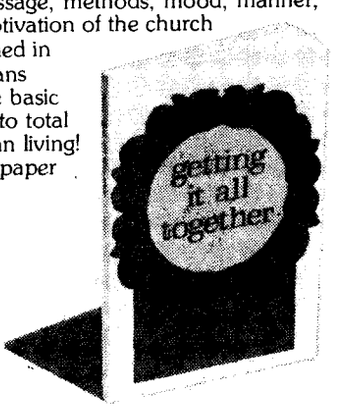


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one of the best informed and most astute Catholic journalists in the English-speaking world.

## Martin E. Marty

Living dangerously is the first delight of regular reviewers. Let this one risk professional and ideological credentials in the first two choices of books that stayed with me after I read them in recent months. Professionally, first: what self-respecting church historian would own up to the fact that he profited from Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity* (Atheneum, $13.95), written as it was by a journalist without background in the field? Yet, while he left some of the heart of Christianity out of his story, he brought scope and flair to his humanist vision of the faith. And ideologically, people identified with mainline Protestantism are not supposed to notice the pesky but proliferating evangelicals, who notify you of their existence in an ocean of junky books. Yet rising above them all are two volumes (Word, $12.95 each) that begin a conservative systematic theology, Carl Henry, *God, Revelation and Authority*. Stentorian at times and over-preoccupied with the propositional character of revelation, the author does not let slip the existential side of faith. No better thinking person's introduction to evangelicalism today exists.

The historian in me feels on safer ground with recommendation of *A History of the Jewish People*, edited by H. Ben-Sasson (Harvard, $40), a collection by the historians most expert in the various eras of Jewish history. And what's left of my theological heart and mind was addressed most intelligently in John Hick, *Death and Eternal Life* (Harper and Row, $15.), a stunningly expansive and then smartly focused book. Hick draws on resources of many religions in his contribution to global theology, but in the end he helps provide new understandings of Christian thought about life unconfined by mortal coils. His may not be the only way to write theology, but it is a classic casebook for *a* way to write it when so many of his colleagues have fallen silent, repeated themselves, or walked away from life and death questions.

Two Roman Catholic works, both giants, neither of which I have yet finished in a busy season, are Hans Küng, *On Being a Christian* (Doubleday, $12.95) and Bernard Cooke, *Ministry to Word and Sacraments*, (Fortress, $25.). The latter, while written by a somewhat less well known Catholic world citizen, does not suffer by comparison to Küng. Both of them know what Catholic traditional*ists* do not, that the Catholic tradition is a flowing stream, not a stale pond into which one dips. I trust others in this week's symposium to say more about Küng, but my list would not be complete without him.

While on this spending spree, let me finally include *Myths*, edited by Alexander Eliot, with the help of Mircea Eliade, Joseph Campbell, and others (McGraw-Hill, $39.95), an illustrated portrayal of the way people have looked at the mythic world in many religions. The prices on all these volumes are high. You will keep them all your life.

## Ralph McInerny

Responding to a request to write about religious books, I discover that, like speaking prose, I have indeed been reading some, unwittingly if not perhaps witlessly. Is it odd that I exclude from consideration the many things read in conjunction with a course on Philosophy of Religion? Some of the following books could be discussed in such a course; certainly all of them influenced this philosopher of religion.

Patterns can be discerned in almost any random selection of books, some stemming from the interests of the selector, others from the themes and styles of the books. Sticking to themes, Richard Mouw's *Politics and the Biblical Drama* (Eerdmans, $2.95) and James Drane's *The Possibility of God* (Littlefield Admans, $3.50) adopt a sweeping social perspective, although the former is theological and the latter philosophical. In *Becoming Human* (Pflaum, $4.65), William E. May has written a Christian ethics which, while concerned with a number of vexing social issues, focuses on the individual moral agent. Louis Dupré's *Transcendent Selfhood* (Seabury, $8.95), as its subtitle suggests, is concerned with the rediscovery of the inner life and is palpably the work of a professor. I add to my list Patrick Gaffney's *Mary's Spiritual Maternity* (Montfort Publications, $2.95) and Thomas Merton's *Thoughts in Solitude*, reissued last year (Noonday, $2.95), and the pattern emerges. From a wide societal sweep, through the ethical, to the spiritual life. Call it a spectrum rather than a hierarchy.

Mouw's political theology is balanced, informed and, above all, biblical. His association with the Chicago Declaration *and* the Hartford Appeal confused Procrustean categorizers. He remains his own man. Mouw writes out of the Christian Reformed tradition, but he develops his position by a fair and judicious consideration of a great number of mutually antithetical views. His vigorous mind and lively style are evident throughout a discussion which considers politics in the light of man's original condition, fall, redemption, and the future age. Mouw brings Christianity to bear on the political; Drane seeks to discover within man's social predicament intimations of the need for religion. Like Mouw, he acts as broker among a vast number of opinions, developing his own with a tentativeness that is never mere indecision. May's book is distinctively Catholic. Again, one finds an orchestration of many points of view—a portrait of current Catholic moral thought is in these pages—while May himself



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usually arrives at a recognizably traditional position. Gaffney's book is a study of St. Louis de Montfort's teaching on Mary's motherhood and, though replete with scholarly apparatus and based on wide reading in Mariology, it has, finally, an edifying effect. Thomas Merton needs no commendation. I prefer his early work and *Thoughts in Solitude* is early. Would its author have been able to imagine himself writing on race and war? I think so. Merton and Mouw would have gotten along fine. Louis Dupré's book is scholarly yet it involves the reader as doubtless good philosophy should. From its motto from Marcel ("The devise of the person is not *sum* but *sursum*."), to its final discussion of the mystical experience of the self, it catches and holds the reader with its meditative style. Different books, they do not however arrange themselves with reference to orthodoxy and orthopraxy. The individual vs society? Perhaps. But perhaps, like love and marriage, we can't have one without the other. All these books finally bear on both.

## Lois Spear

*The Church and the Homosexual.* John J. McNeill, S.J. Sheed, Andrews and McMeel, $10.

*All Things Are Possible*, The Healing & Charismatic Revivals in Modern America. David Edwinn Harrell, Jr. Indiana University Press. $10.

*Alone of All Her Sex*, The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary. Marina Warner. Alfred A. Knopf. $15.

*The Thirteenth Tribe*, The Khazar Empire and Its Heritage. Arthur Koestler. Random House. $8.95.

*Messengers of God*, Biblical Portraits and Legends. Elie Wiesel. Random House. $8.95.

*The Eucharist and the Hunger of the World.* Monika K. Hellwig. Paulist Press. $1.65.

At least once during every lifetime, we need to explore the background framework of our favorite myths; Religious Book Week seems as good a time as any to look at some of the cherished ones playing key roles in our Catholic culture. A number of books this year have swept away the background from some of these beliefs. McNeill's book reminds us that the Sodom story interpreted as punishment for homosexuality has no basis in the Bible account which tells only that the city was punished for wickedness, especially for its sins of inhospitality.

Charisma, with or without the Spirit, is a subject explored by the historian Harrell in his 1975 work, *All Things Are Possible*. Without presenting a clear-cut thesis, Harrell nevertheless raises questions about the authenticity of the Charismatic movement. The wealth of factual material on pentecostals, from earlier spellbinders like William Branham and Aimee Semple McPherson to contemporaries like Jimmy Swaggart and David Wilkerson, makes the book valuable as a reference. Unfortunately, it lacks a conclusion, perhaps because the author was deeply indebted to Oral Roberts University for the use of its Pentecostal Collection. Harrell allows "a leading authority on Roman Catholic pentecostalism" to have the last word: "Both the more specific prophetic function and the more general desire to be 'led by the Spirit,' as all Pentecostals know, have been abused by willful or vain persons."

Unlike Harrell's work, Warner's book contains a strong thesis: Through the centuries, the cult of Mary aided in the subjugation of women. The book is extremely valuable, not only for its massive evidence, but also for its numerous color plates. Warner concedes that Mary may be regarded either as the apotheosis of our striving toward the ideal or as the nadir of our ignorance and superstition. Though clinging to the former assertion, Catholics can agree with Warner's further observation that Mary "represents a central theme in the history of Western attitudes toward women." We need to explore further whether that influence improved or depressed women's position in our culture.

Even more tenuous, perhaps, than Warner's thesis is the one by Arthur Koestler in *The Thirteenth Tribe*. Koestler attempts to prove that the ancestors of Western European Jews were not the Semitic tribes dating back to Ur in Mesopotamia. They were, instead, descendants of the Khazars, a Turkish tribe living in the Caucasus near the site of present-day Georgia. The family tree of contemporary Jewry means little to most of us, yet it emphasizes the fact that no one has a "pure" background, free of outside racial or cultural mingling.

Removing the background of one set of myths may merely leave room for another set, more dangerous than the first, to grow in its place. Since


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about the only way in which we can see reality is through myths, we need accounts making Biblical and other historical subjects understandable and meaningful for our generation. Two books do that in commendable fashion: Elie Wiesel, whose sufferings under the Nazi regime clarified his vision of the human condition, gives us a new insight into some of the Old Testament figures. Cain, as seen through the Midrashic text, represents suffering mankind; a heavy burden of fault lies on the shoulders of Abel who turned away from his brother's suffering. "When someone suffers, and it is not you, he comes first. . . . To watch over a man who grieves is a more urgent duty than to think of God."

An attempt at re-interpretation on the New Testament level is the slim volume by Monika Hellwig, reminding us of two points obscured by the pedantic controversy over Transubstantiation: The Eucharistic change was meant to be on the part of the congregation; its central action is the sharing of food.

Cleaning debris of the centuries from old myths or installing new ones in their place may seem like wasted time during Religious Book Week when one can choose from a more attractive array of books dealing with more pleasant topics. Yet the process may, in Hellwig's words, tell us "whether the Christian gospel has anything to say in response to the social questions of our day."

## Michael Zeik

The fascinating chapter on the World Religions in Küng's new book, *On Being a Christian* (Doubleday, $12.95), provides a perspective for the books I have chosen.

The new respect for Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, etc., expressed in the documents of the Second Vatican Council, was due largely to the work of Karl Rahner. Everyone will recall his famous phrase, "anonymous Christian."

Küng mercilessly rejects both the phrase and the concept. On the one hand, he finds it patronizing to the Hindus and Buddhists, etc. (who know they are not anonymous *anything*); and on the other, he agrees with the conservatives who felt that this formula rendered Christianity superfluous for half of mankind! "Anonymous Christianity" is, for Küng, mere theological sleight of hand!

While he does not deny the 'salvation' capacity of the World Religions, and while he finds each of them impressive in ways that the Catholic Church might well emulate, he is, nevertheless, alert to their very serious defects. He finds them variously plagued with unhistoricity, cyclical determinism, pessimism, passivity, caste spirit, and social disinterestedness. Most of them have yet to come to terms with progress, individualism, higher criticism, and the like.

Not for a moment does Küng deny our own problems. (Indeed, he catalogues these in much *greater* detail.) But when he asserts that we have already wrestled with (and to some extent, been purified by) higher criticism, secular humanism, etc., I agree with him. So we are cautioned not to compare the tranquil beauty of *their* classical scriptures with the pockmarks of *our* human history. They, too, have a history.

With this admonition, we may now turn to consider a few books which I consider outstanding in their field. In exploring the treasures of Sufism, Professor Annemarie Schimmel in her work, *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Univ. of N. Car. Press, $14.95) has ignored neither the 'Mysticism of Infinity,' nor the 'Mysticism of Personality'; neither the 'Voluntaristic,' nor the 'Gnostic' approach. Indeed, there is very little on the subject that she does ignore—providing, as she does, both an historical outline of classical Sufism, as well as a philosophical and spiritual analysis of the works of its leading figures. The balance and scholarship she displays throughout are remarkable. Not a book for the idly curious.

Irmgard Schloegl came to Buddhism by way of the natural sciences, spent 12 years in Japan undergoing rigorous Zen training, and is presently the librarian for the Buddhist Society in London. Her 36-page introduction to *The Wisdom of the Zen Masters* (New Directions, $5.95) says more about the origin and background of Zen than some entire books I have read on the subject. Her selection of Zen stories and anecdotes is, similarly, well chosen.

Geoffrey Parrinder's introduction to this book on the *Upanishads, The Wisdom of the Fathers* (New Directions, $6.50), does not contain quite as much matter as Schloegl's, but his special service to the beginner is to provide straightforward English translations of some of the more crucial passages of these most difficult, obscure scriptures. Anyone who has struggled with these passages in other editions will appreciate the service he renders.

But—the weight of Küng's admonition still heavy on me—I cannot close without mentioning van de Wettering's *The Empty Mirror* (Houghton Mifflin, $3.75). It is the first-hand account of a young Dutch student who enters a monastery in Kyoto, and whose spiritual pilgrimage ends, not in satori, but depression.

In van de Wettering's account we learn of a monk who was given a modern version of the ancient koan: "Stop a wild horse which is charging straight at you." The modern version was: "Stop the Inter-city train, coming from Tokyo." The young monk, as prescribed, put his heart and soul into solving his koan; for years he meditated on it. One day he awoke, walked to the tracks, and threw himseelf at the Inter-city train. In a split second there was neither monk nor koan.

In the context of the book (poignant, but not cynical), such stories do not constitute a smear. The author found a great deal impressive in Zen; his own master included. But his account does serve to affirm Küng's warning: we would be naive to go around hunting for a World Religion without warts.



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# CORRESPONDENCE

*(Continued from page 131)*

Mr. Getlein's comments reveal to me a man who cares deeply about dishonesty and injustice, but where do we go from here? There seems to be a general assumption that it is good for people to be exposed to the pains and the miseries of the world. The crazy idea that seeing starving babies, burning houses, flooded towns, dead earthquake victims and young soldiers dying in a ditch and now "live and in color" executions will deter us from crime or motivate us to do something about evils of our world is fantasy. Exposure to human misery on a mass scale through the media has led to psychic numbness and also to hostility. Human misery with which identification is hardly possible creates strong negative feelings in me. I cannot stand to watch another person be humiliated much less executed. The Lord Jesus has made me sensitive to the inner harmony in all of nature. The Chinese call it the Ying and Yang found in all things.

The clever wit and social criticism of Mr. Getlein becomes most truthful when he speaks of the Nixonites. I am in agreement with his just position. For some men the possibility of losing the presidency with personal disgrace, as well as losing personal credibility as a world leader and bringing disgrace upon one's country would be a deterrent. But for the ex-Chief as well as the whole Watergate crew, as well as other crimes of personal desperation, there is really no such thing as a deterrent theory of capital punishment. The article is right on.

Lenny Bruce, rest his soul, would have had a field day with the hypocrisies of the Connally program. In his absence, Mr. Getlein did a splendid job. Keep up the good writing.

(REV.) CHARLES CICERALE

*Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.*

### Political Reprieve

Toledo, Ohio

*To the Editors:* The excellent article, "Campaign '76—Crisis Ahead" by Carey McWilliams in the December 3 issue deserves the attention of all alert Americans. He is correct in suggesting that our political free enterprise system has won a reprieve rather than a rebirth of freedom. The morning-after reality will show that the disillusionments of Vietnam and Watergate, our shortages and wastage of resources, inflation and unemployment are not going to be solved by traditional methods of monetary manipulation. Neither turning on the printing presses nor tax reductions is going to stimulate us into prosperity.

Carey McWilliams has pointed out that neither candidate, Ford nor Carter, presented "a coherent statement of what he thought the United States should be doing in the world in the last quarter of this century." We know that Carter during the campaign condemned unequal administration of justice, corporate bribery, urban decay, governmental inefficiency, unemployment and inflation. (Even before his inauguration he turned his back on the promise of wage-price controls legislation.) While Ford's negativism in office upset us all, we may see a change in our foreign policy as Henry Kissinger steps out with his unilateral do-it-yourself approach and Cyrus Vance takes over as Secretary of State. There will certainly be a renewed sense of our interdependence and an effort to get nuclear disarmament back on the tracks.

If I have any suggestion for the expansion of Carey McWilliams's thesis, it is that a very real fact of life in America is underplayed. The United States is rapidly becoming a have-not nation. Outside of grains and coal, we have few, if any, resource surpluses. We're increasingly dependent on the other nations of the world. This situation compels us to sit down and negotiate our own survival. Carter will find that we'll have no alternative to life in tomorrow's world than to join as responsible members of the United Nations, the legal representative of the international community. That is the real crisis we face.

EDWARD LAMB

### Correction

In the issue of *Commonweal* dated Feb. 4, 1977, a transposition of several lines of type marred the sense of a portion of the article "The Multifarious Horses of Instruction," by Doris Grumbach. On page 87, the eight lines at the top of column three should have appeared at the bottom of that column. We regret the printer's error.

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